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# JOURNAL *of the* ILLINOIS STATE *Historical Society*

VOLUME XXXIII

1940

*Published by*

THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

*Springfield, Illinois*

14

1941

(A45455—1M)

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# THE CHARLESTON RIOT, MARCH 28, 1864

BY CHARLES H. COLEMAN AND PAUL H. SPENCE

ABRAHAM Lincoln was no hero to many of his parents' neighbors. Thomas and Sarah Lincoln moved into Coles County, Illinois, in 1831 after a brief residence in Macon County. In 1837 they moved to a two-room log house on the "Goose Nest Prairie" in Pleasant Grove Township in southern Coles where they resided to the time of the death of Thomas in 1851 and that of the stepmother, Sarah Bush Johnston Lincoln, in 1869. Children of Mrs. Lincoln by her first marriage and relatives of Thomas Lincoln's first wife, Nancy Hanks, also lived with or near them. Descendants of the Johnston and Hanks families still live in the county.

Mr. Lincoln never lived with his father and stepmother in the county, although he visited them at intervals. Local tradition (probably not correct) has it that Abraham assisted his father in the erection of the Goose Nest Prairie house. Charleston, the county seat, was, however, one of the courthouse towns at which Mr. Lincoln practiced law during the 1840's and early 1850's. Local tradition, in this case with a greater degree of probability, pictures Mr. Lincoln walking or riding down the dusty seven-mile road from the village to his parents' home, carrying with him a basket of groceries for the old folks, on the occasions when his legal practice brought him to Charleston. His last visit

to the county was in February, 1861, when he visited his stepmother, at that time living with her daughter and son-in-law (Matilda and Reuben Moore) in the hamlet of Farmington, about half a mile north of the Lincoln home where Tom had died ten years earlier. This was just before Lincoln left Illinois to go to Washington for his inauguration as President.

With such intimate associations with President Lincoln, we would expect to find that Coles County was enthusiastic in its support of his administration. Such, however, was not the case, but on the contrary during the Civil War the county was almost evenly divided in its political sympathies.

Coles was in the Seventh Congressional District from 1852 to 1872. In 1858 that district elected a Democratic representative, James C. Robinson of Marshall, by 13,588 votes to 11,760 for his Republican opponent, Richard J. Oglesby. In the same year one of the Lincoln-Douglas debates was held in Charleston. In 1860 Coles County gave Lincoln a slight plurality: 1,495 votes to 1,467 for Douglas and 79 for Bell.[1] In 1862, the Seventh District elected a Democratic member of Congress, John R. Eden,[2] at the same time that Coles County elected a Democratic sheriff, John H. O'Hair. In 1863, in a local election, the Republicans elected a county treasurer by less than 200 votes, or 1,535 to 1,368 for the Democrats.[3] An analysis of this county vote, by townships, shows that the Republicans were strongest in the western half of the county, which looked to Mattoon as its

[1] *Albany* [N. Y.] *Evening Journal Almanac*, 1862.

[2] The vote was Eden, 11,361; Elijah McCarty, 10,004. Two years later Eden was defeated by H. P. H. Bromwell of Coles County by a vote of 15,363 to 12,027. D. W. Lusk, *Politics and Politicians* (Springfield, 1884), 44, 146, 165.

[3] *Mattoon* [Ill.] *Gazette*, Nov. 11, 1863.

center, and that the Democrats were strongest in the eastern half. Charleston, the county seat, was nearly evenly divided, 293 Democratic votes to 277 Republican. In the presidential election of 1864 the Republicans carried Coles County with an increased majority, the vote being Lincoln, 2,210; McClellan, 1,555.[4]

Coles County, especially the southern and eastern parts, had been settled for the most part by southerners, chiefly from Kentucky. Although the greater part of these settlers had not been slaveholders, many brought with them a hearty dislike of Abolitionists, a dislike that remained with their Democratic descendants in the 1860's.

On the other hand the Republicans in the county were equally decided in their opinions, and bad feeling between the more violent partisans in both political camps was rife during the war years.[5]

The Union strength in the county was greater, proportionately, than the voting strength of the Republicans. This is demonstrated by the fact that although Lincoln received 1,495 votes in 1860, Coles furnished 1,870 volunteers for the Union armies in the years 1861-1863. This was 531 more men than her quotas under the various calls for troops. On March 14, 1864, two weeks prior to the riot, the President called for 200,000 men to be drafted if volunteers were not forthcoming. Illinois was the only state with volunteers exceeding her quota

[4] *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and History of Coles County*, edited by Charles Edward Wilson (Chicago, 1906), 678.

[5] There was a generally held and frequently expressed sentiment among local Republicans that the Copperheads (see *post*, p. 10) were a bad lot: riffraff and low fellows. That this opinion was not justified may be seen even today by a trip through those sections of Coles and Edgar counties where the Copperheads were numerous. Still standing are substantial homes, the equal, or better, of others in the neighborhood, built by members of the O'Hair, Hanks, Swango, and other Copperhead families both before and after the Civil War.

under this draft. The Seventh Congressional District (including Coles County) furnished 2,167 more men than its draft quota of 1,374. This was twenty-eight per cent more than the state average on this call.[6]

Not only did the men of eastern Illinois and Coles County volunteer for military service in greater numbers than the average for the state as a whole, but they deserted the service in smaller proportion. Out of a total of 2,001 deserters arrested in Illinois from June 1 to October 10, 1863, 124 came from the Seventh Congressional District. In proportion to the total population of the state this was thirty less than the average.[7]

Those Democrats who refused to co-operate with the Lincoln administration in the prosecution of the war were known variously as "Peace Democrats," "Butternuts" or "Copperheads."[8] The more militant of the Copperheads in 1862 formed an organization known first as the "Knights of the Golden Circle" and later (in 1863) as the "Order of American Knights" and finally (in February, 1864) as the "Sons of Liberty." Started in Indiana upon the model of a prewar proslavery organization active in Kentucky and other border slave states, the K. G. C. (and its later forms) spread all over the Middle West, especially Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Led by the fiery C. L. Vallandigham of Dayton, Ohio, and other extremists among the Peace Democrats, the Knights (or Sons) were active in opposition to war measures which they held to be unconstitutional, such as the military draft and the imposition of military

[6] The total figure for the county in all the war years was 2,741. Lusk, *Politics and Politicians*, 172; *Mattoon Gazette*, Feb. 27, 1864; *Chicago Tribune*, March 24, 1864.

[7] *Mattoon Gazette*, Oct. 28, 1863.

[8] The "Peace Democrats," opposed to the war and willing to act in open opposition to the administration, will be referred to as "Copperheads" in this paper. That was the term generally used by their opponents from 1863 on.

rule in the northern states by overzealous army commanders.

The Peace Democrats or Copperheads followed a course that was condemned by their fellow citizens as treasonable. It seems clear, however, that the Peace Democrats were sincere in their belief that the war was a mistake and a failure, and that the Republican administration was ruining the country by engendering sectional hatred that would make peaceable reunion impossible. Their slogan was "The Constitution as it is and the Union as it was." The outcome of the war proved that forcible reunion was possible. But that is not to say that peaceable reunion, after the passions of 1860-1861 had cooled, would have been impossible. Some of the Copperheads were Confederate sympathizers, but the great majority of them were sincere and patriotic Union men from their own point of view. That their position would lead them to the borderline of treason was inevitable. Hating the administration that was fighting to restore the Union, and loving that Union at the same time was a difficult position at best. Their opposition to various war measures was technically sound in some cases. Lincoln had a broader and more statesmanlike view of the constitutional aspect of some of the measures made necessary by the war. He put the preservation of the Union ahead of the preservation of constitutional principle. Of what use would a Constitution be if there were no Union for it to constitute?

Disapproval of the war on theoretical grounds was not the only factor in creating Peace Democrats. A large portion of the Peace Democrats in the free states adjoining the Ohio River were farmers who had long re-

garded the South as the best market for their produce. Cut off from this market by the war, they were bitter against those responsible.

Many Copperheads of eastern Illinois, and Coles County and Edgar County (to the east of Coles) in particular, were members of the Knights of the Golden Circle. One deposition taken in Charleston after the riot was to the effect that in June, 1863, just before the first draft of troops under the draft law of that year, a group of over one hundred Coles County Copperheads met in Seven Hickory Township (northeastern Coles County) under the leadership of one Bryant Thornhill to engage in military drill and to discuss plans for resisting the draft. These men were presumably members of the "Knights." One witness testified that Thornhill said that "Jefferson Davis was fighting for his rights" and that the speaker "had no doubt of his success;" that the cause was right and that Davis would never be conquered. About the close of the speech Thornhill said that the purpose of the meeting was to resist the draft. "Those who was [*sic*] around him (they had formed a circle) answered that they would resist the Government in the draft, to which Thornhill replied, yes,—resist it unto death."[9]

There is a local tradition that the Coles County Copperheads not only met for drill and to organize in resistance to the draft, but that they collected arms and actually acquired a small cannon. They also made threats against local Republicans and in some cases, according to tradition, marked the houses of those who were the particular object of their hatred with a "K" within a

[9] Deposition of William T. Wells, April 11, 1864, Charleston Riot Affidavits, p. 2. (Coles County Circuit Court Records, Charleston, Ill.)

circle—the mark of the Knights of the Golden Circle. Local tradition has it also that the local Copperheads or Knights were drilled by one "Johnny Powderhorn" from Kentucky, supposed to have been active as a guerrilla or "bushwhacker" during the war.[10]

Opposition to the draft had been pronounced in various parts of the North in 1863 and resulted in rioting in New York City and Noble and Holmes counties, Ohio, and elsewhere. Democratic opposition in eastern Illinois to the military policies of the government was openly avowed.[11] An incident early in March, 1863, involving Charles H. Constable of Marshall, Illinois, judge of the fourth judicial circuit, is described by the late Speaker Joseph G. Cannon of Danville, as follows:

> One of the early military arrests in Illinois was that of Judge Constable while holding court at Charleston, the county seat of Coles County. The judge was of an old Maryland family, a lawyer of the old school, who held the civil courts in such high esteem that he could not conceive of any higher authority even in time of civil war. A number of [four] deserters from Indiana regiments were followed by their officers across the state line and arrested at Charleston, where Judge Constable was holding court. Friends of the deserters appealed to the judge, and he, considering the action of the military authorities of another state an invasion of the civil jurisdiction of Illinois and a judicial outrage, promptly released the deserters and ordered the arrest of the [two] army officers as "kidnapers."
>
> This action by Judge Constable aroused the combative spirit of Governor Morton, of Indiana, who at once demanded of General [Colonel Henry B.] Carrington, who represented the War Department, a prompt redress of grievances. The General proceeded to Charleston with a file of soldiers, surrounded the courthouse where

[10] "The Coles County Raid" in *Chicago Tribune*, June 6, 1895. Also testimony of James Ratcliff, Charleston Riot Affidavits, p. 30.

[11] Olney, county seat of Richland County, fifty-six miles south of Charleston, was besieged by a mob of 500 persons, who threatened to burn the village if the draft records were not surrendered. Edward Conrad Smith, *The Borderland in the Civil War* (New York, 1927), 340.

the judge was hearing the case of the kidnapers, and placed the judge under arrest for interfering with the military operations of the Government. The judge was about to be taken to Indiana as a military prisoner when Judge [Samuel H.] Treat, of the United States District Court for Southern Illinois, interfered and ordered his release.[12]

Some idea of the extent of Copperhead opposition to the government in Indiana and Illinois may be gathered from Colonel Carrington's report to the War Department of this incident. From Indianapolis under date of March 19, 1863, he reported:

> When the detachment under my command passed through Livingston to arrest Judge Constable, of Marshall, Ill., a gray-headed old man knelt down in the mud, crying, as he prayed, "Thank the Almighty Father we have a Government again."[13]

Constable's feelings were somewhat assuaged the following June 17, when he attended a Democratic mass meeting in Springfield. He was chosen as one of the vice-presidents of the convention, and among the resolutions adopted was one denouncing his arrest.[14]

Some idea of the Democratic strength in Coles County at this time may be obtained from the fact that even the Republican *Gazette* of Mattoon reported an attendance of 3,000 at a Democratic rally in that village on August 1, 1863. Banners carried at the meeting advocated "For President, Horatio Seymour, for Vice President, C. L. Vallandigham."[15]

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[12] L. White Busbey, "Reminiscences of Uncle Joe Cannon," *Saturday Evening Post*, July 13, 1918, p. 12. A detailed account of this incident is found in Alexander Davidson and Bernard Stuvé, *A Complete History of Illinois from 1673 to 1873* (Springfield, 1874), 890-91. The alleged deserters were from the 30th Illinois Volunteers. This account places the arrest of Judge Constable at Marshall.

[13] *The War of Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D. C., 1899), 2 ser., V: 367. Livingston, Illinois is on the National Road, about three miles east of Marshall.

[14] John Moses, *Illinois, Historical and Statistical* (Chicago, 1892), II: 687-88. Orlando B. Ficklin of Charleston was also a vice-president of this meeting.

[15] *Mattoon Gazette*, Aug. 5, 1863.

Early in 1864 increased activity by the Sons of Liberty, and Copperheads generally, was noticeable in eastern Illinois in preparation for the political campaign of that year. They were reported to be collecting arms to defend themselves and the newspapers friendly to them, and there was much loose talk of resisting the draft, defying the government, etc. Republicans were not silent in the face of these evidences of Copperhead activity and the bad feeling between the two groups became more and more outspoken. A verse popular among Republicans in eastern and southern Illinois at that time was:

Butternut Britches
and Hickory Poles—
Democrats, Democrats
Damn their souls.[16]

Feeling ran especially high between the Copperheads and returned soldiers on leave. A favorite sport of the soldiers, especially after having consumed some of the corn whiskey, which at that time was produced in such abundance in Coles County, the "Buckle on the Corn Belt," was to stop civilians known to be Democrats on the street—even dragging farmers from their wagons —and forcing them to their knees, where they were required to take this oath of allegiance: "I do solemnly swear to support the Administration, Abraham Lincoln, all proclamations now issued and all that may hereafter be issued, so help me God."[17] On January 29, 1864, soldiers on leave in Mattoon had forced, among others, such eminently respectable citizens as Judge Constable and Dr. J. W. Dora of Charleston to take such an oath.

[16] From E. H. Taylor, Charleston, Illinois.

[17] John Howard Todd, "Illinois, Thy Wondrous Story," (clipping, n. d., from Mrs. I. H. Johnston, Charleston, Ill.).

The next day the bad feeling resulted in actual violence. Charles Shoalmax, of the 17th Illinois Cavalry, shot through the back and killed a Copperhead, Edward Stevens, on the streets of Mattoon. This murder was deplored by the local Republican journal and the incident was used to point a moral concerning the evil of excessive drinking by soldiers. The brazenly disloyal and defiant attitude of the Copperheads was held to be a partial justification for Shoalmax's action. Stevens is reported to have incited Shoalmax, who had been drinking, to violence by saying to him that he would "fight on the rebel side, if he fought," after Shoalmax had endeavored to force him to take the oath of allegiance to the government.[18]

Such incidents in Mattoon led the *Illinois State Register*, Democratic newspaper in Springfield, to comment editorially after the riot in Charleston:

> Let it be remembered further, that since this 54th Regiment has been stationed in Mattoon [since February 12], they have actually beaten two unoffending citizens to death, whose only fault was their Democratic politics, besides committing various other outrages.[19]

These charges were denied by the *Mattoon Gazette*, which admitted, however, that "soldiers have occasionally knocked down and dragged out a Copperhead, but none have ever been seriously injured with the exception of a common thief [Stevens] who was shot, sometime since, by a drunken soldier."[20]

The violence in Mattoon had its counterpart in Paris, seat of Edgar County, to the east. On February 16, Milton York of the 66th Illinois Infantry, son of

[18] *Mattoon Gazette*, Feb. 3, 17, April 6, 1864.
[19] *Illinois State Register*, April 1, 1864, quoted in *Mattoon Gazette*, April 6, 1864.
[20] April 6, 1864.

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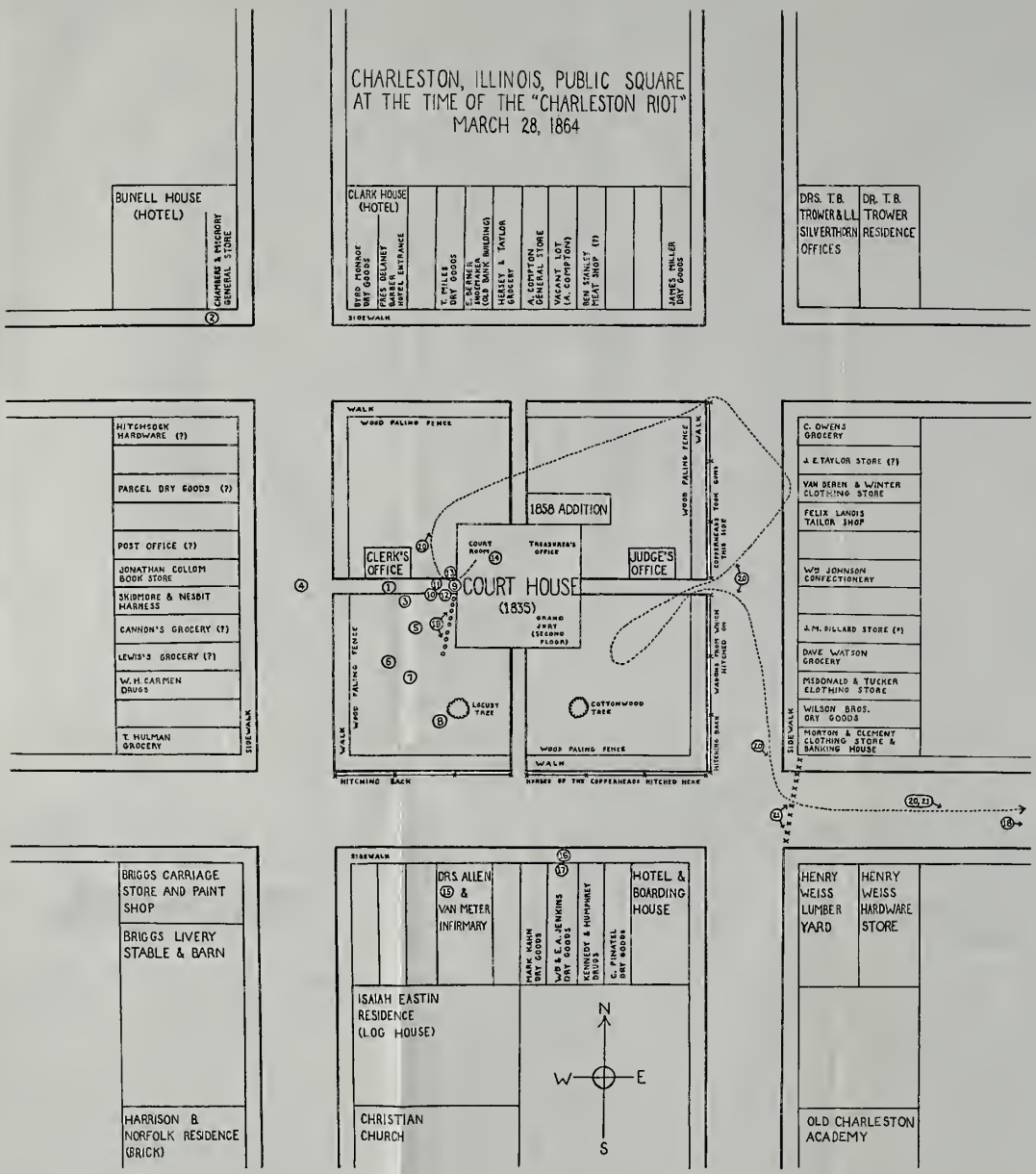


## LEGEND

1. Where first shot was fired. Oliver Sallee aod Nelsoo Wells fatally wounded.
2. Where Nelson Wells died after leaviog 1.
3. James Goodrich fatally wounded.
4. William G. Hart killed.
5. Lansford Noyes wouoded.
6. Thomas Jeffries wounded.
7. Alfred Swim killed.
8. Joho Neer killed.
9. Colonel Mitchell wounded.
10. George Ross wounded.
11. Robert Winkler wouoded.
12. G. W. Rardin hit on head with a hrick.
13. William Gilmao wounded.
14. Major York killed.
15. Doctors' office where seveo or more of the wouoded were treated.
16. John Cooper killed.
17. John Jeokins fatally wounded.
18. Capture of Freesoer hy Copperheads, two hlocks east of the square.
19. Line formed hy eight to teo Copperheads at start of shooting.
20. Route of Sheriff O'Hair.
21. Where Copperheads rallied before withdrawiog under leadership of Sheriff O'Hair.

NOTE.—Locatioo of stores and events was hased oo local contemporary newspaper accounts, Riot depositioos, family tradition, and letters. Only approximate sites could he indicated in some cases. The authors wish to thaok Earl R. Andersoo, Charleston, Ill., and Adin Baher, Kansas, Ill., for informatioo necessary to the preparation of this sketch.

Dr. Shubal York, surgeon-major of the 54th Illinois, who was later killed in the Charleston riot, shot and seriously wounded a Copperhead named Cooper. Accounts friendly to young York claim that Cooper hit York, who shot in self-defense.[21] This incident may have been responsible for the death of the father, Major York, in the riot six weeks later. At all events, the Yorks were known as ardent Republicans and Abolitionists, and were generally hated by the Copperheads. On February 22, a more serious conflict took place in Paris between six soldiers of the 12th and 66th Illinois Infantry and a group of fourteen Copperheads. Two soldiers were wounded and one Copperhead, Kennedy, was killed. The fight was over possession of an arsenal collected by the Copperheads to defend the Democratic newspaper, *Paris Times* (Amos Green, editor), which the soldiers had threatened to wreck. The Republican *Gazette* of Mattoon reported that the Copperheads fired first. The *Chicago Tribune's* account of this affair some weeks later, relying upon the Republican *Beacon* of Paris, reported that soldiers had threatened to demolish the *Times* office, but that editor Green had apologized to them for his anti-Republican attacks. The local Copperheads, under the leadership of Sheriff William O'Hair of Edgar County, were determined on vengeance, and the sheriff, according to this account, collected a group of armed Copperheads as a *posse comitatus*. It was this group, according to the *Beacon*, that came into conflict with the soldiers.[22]

[21] *Mattoon Gazette*, Feb. 24, 1864.

[22] *Paris Beacon*, March 2, 1864; *Chicago Tribune*, March 30, 1864; also testimony of A. J. Baber, of Kansas, Ill., that he saw a group of about twenty-five Copperheads going from Kansas to Paris with the avowed intention of protecting the *Times* from the soldiers (Charleston Riot Affidavits, p. 111). Also similar testimony by James M. Sissel of Kansas, Ill. (*Ibid.*, p. 125).

Although there had been no murders in Charleston, the county seat, like its neighbors east and west, had had its share of altercations between soldiers on leave and Copperheads. Early in March two local Democrats, Ben Dukes and a man named Bridgeman, had been severely beaten by soldiers in Charleston. On Saturday, March 26, soldiers had attacked and disarmed two Copperheads in Charleston, James O'Hair, Sr., and Frank Toland.[23] There were rumors of Copperhead retaliation for these attacks, and reports that they were collecting arms and drilling in preparation to oppose the soldiers. On the other hand, stories were circulated among the Democrats that the men of the 54th Illinois Infantry who had been ordered to assemble at Mattoon on Monday, March 28, at the expiration of their furlough, proposed to stop off in Charleston and "clean up the Butternut Court," or the court of Judge Constable, which would be open in Charleston on that day.[24]

It appeared that March 28 would be a gala day for Charleston Democrats. Not only was court to be held, with Democratic Judge Constable on the bench, and Democratic Sheriff John H. O'Hair (elected in 1862) in attendance, but Democratic Congressman John R. Eden of that district was scheduled to speak at a Democratic rally. To Copperheads who desired vengeance on the soldiers for various assaults and insults the occasion was propitious. The day also had its advantage for those soldiers who wished to impress Democrats with the serious risk which accompanied

[23] *Missouri Republican* in *New York World*, April 6, 1864. Also Charleston Riot Affidavits, p. 114. A revolver was taken from Dukes.

[24] Memoirs of Frank T. O'Hair, dictated to Mr. Adin Baber, Kansas, Ill., May 13, 1932. F. T. O'Hair was the son of John H. O'Hair, sheriff of Coles County in 1864.

opposition to the Republican administration. The town would be full of Democrats including many Copperhead extremists, and furthermore plenty of soldiers would be present, on their way to Mattoon to rejoin their regiment. Thus was the scene laid for a violent explosion: a Democratic rally, court in session presided over by a judge who was anathema to the soldiers, many irate and vengeful Copperheads, a large number of soldiers present, and finally, whiskey enough for all. It is no wonder that a riot broke out. It would have been a greater wonder if the day had passed peacefully.

Most of the soldiers who figured in the Charleston riot were members of Companies C and G of the 54th Illinois Infantry, Colonel Greenville M. Mitchell of Charleston commanding. This regiment had been organized at Anna, Illinois, in November, 1861. They were mustered into federal service in February, 1862. Colonel Mitchell became the commander in December, 1862, shortly before the regiment moved to Tennessee to see active service. In that campaign, detachments of the regiment were captured by Confederate General Nathan B. Forrest. The regiment took part in the last month of the siege of Vicksburg (May 30-July 4, 1863). In January, 1864, their two-year period of federal service having expired, three-fourths of the regiment re-enlisted. These men received a veteran furlough to last until March 28. In August, after the riot at Charleston and the return of the regiment to active service, all but two companies were captured by Confederate General Shelby. The captured men were exchanged in December, 1864, and the regiment was mustered out of service in October, 1865.[25] The men of the regiment nearly all

[25] *Report of the Adjutant General, State of Illinois* (Springfield, 1901), III: 656, 685.

came from eastern Illinois, and Companies C and G, especially, contained many Charleston and Coles County men.

Realizing that many soldiers would be in town, a number of Copperheads brought arms with them when they came to Charleston that day. In many farm wagons there were shotguns under the straw, and many men attending court or standing around the square had pistols in their pockets.

During the period that the soldiers were on leave in Coles County, Sheriff John H. O'Hair (first cousin of Sheriff William O'Hair of Edgar County) had kept out of Charleston in order to avoid trouble. He had remained at the home of his father, John O'Hair, on "Big Creek" in Edgar County. He felt, however, that as sheriff his presence was required in Charleston on "court day," March 28, so he came to town accompanied by two deputies, his cousin Elsberry Hanks and Jesse Swango, husband of his cousin Nancy Hanks Swango. With them were the sheriff's brothers, James and Henderson O'Hair, and John and William Frazier. Rumors that the soldiers planned an attack on the court made it desirable that they be on hand "to assist in protecting the court, their friends and the officers of the court."[26]

Present also in Charleston on March 28 was a party of six or eight men from Edgar County with an ox wagon, on their way to the gold mines of the West. Ardent Peace Democrats, these men—as did thousands of others—hoped to find freedom from the draft law, as well as gold, in the western hills. These gold-seeking Copperheads were armed and took an active part in

[26] From Adin Baber, of Kansas, Ill., and Memoirs of Frank T. O'Hair.

the riot on the twenty-eighth. The party included Nelson and Frank Wells, Green Hanks, Ogdon and Nelson O'Hair. These men were from the "Big Creek" neighborhood of Edgar County.[27]

About 11:00 A.M. the train from Paris reached Charleston and a number of soldiers got off instead of proceeding to their assembly point at Mattoon. Evidently they wished to see and perhaps take part in any excitement that might develop. Stacking their muskets at the depot, they proceeded south to the courthouse square, where they found a number of members of their regiment from Charleston and the nearby countryside.

Both soldiers and civilians had been drinking freely, and when the ugly temper of the crowd became obvious, Congressman John R. Eden canceled his scheduled speech, and he, Judge Constable, ex-Congressman Orlando B. Ficklin, and other conservative leaders among the Democrats advised their angry Copperhead friends to go home. Eden himself left the city, and Judge Constable opened court. By 3:00 P.M. about two-thirds of those who had come to town to hear Eden had gone home.[28]

Early in the afternoon, according to the son of Sheriff O'Hair, the evidence of a coming disturbance became so clear that word was passed to all Democrats in the vicinity of the courthouse to go into the building and remain there until the soldiers had left on the afternoon train for Mattoon.[29] But there is no evidence that any such instructions were generally followed.

[27] From Adin Baber.
[28] *Columbus* [Ohio] *Crisis*, April 6, 1864, quoting *Chicago Times*.
[29] Memoirs of Frank T. O'Hair.

Trouble started between 3:00 and 3:30 P.M. Conflicting accounts place the blame for starting the shooting on both Copperheads and soldiers, according to the source of the account.

The next morning the local Republican paper, the *Charleston Plain Dealer*, issued a "broadside" extra giving the story of the fight. After admitting that some of the soldiers "were somewhat excited by liquor," although "more disposed for fun than fight," the account continued:

> About four [probably nearer three] o'clock a soldier, Oliver Sallee [of Charleston, private in Company C, 54th Illinois] stepped up to Nelson Wells [Copperhead of Edgar County, twenty-three years old, and cousin of Elsberry Hanks], who has been regarded as the leader of the Copperheads in this county [but note his youth], and placing his hand goodnaturedly against him, playfully asked him if there were any Copperheads in town? Wells replied, "Yes, God d—n you, I am one!" and drawing his revolver shot at Sallee, but missed him. In an instant Sallee was shot from another direction, and fell, but raising himself up, he fired at Wells, the ball taking effect in his vitals. He (W) went as far as Chambers and McCrory's store and passing in, fell dead.[30]

Frank T. O'Hair, son of Sheriff O'Hair and second cousin of Elsberry Hanks, in his "Memoirs" based on conversations with "Berry," records that Wells was pointed out to the soldiers as a Butternut (or Copperhead) and that they surrounded him. His cousin Elsberry Hanks started to get him away from the soldiers and into the courthouse, but before Hanks reached Wells, one soldier struck Wells and another (Sallee) shot him. Another pistol shot, from an unknown

[30] *Charleston Plain Dealer*, Extra, March 29, 1864. Family tradition has it that Wells's pistol caught in a shawl he was wearing and delayed his fire (from Adin Baber). David Nelson Wells's age obtained from tombstone in Elledge-Holley Cemetery, Symmes Township, Edgar County. Chambers and McCrory's store was on the northwest corner of the square, on the site now occupied by the Charleston National Bank.

person, killed Sallee. Wells, wounded, ran across the street to McCrory's store and fell dead.[31] Thus the Republican account makes Wells the aggressor, and the Democratic account makes him the victim of an unprovoked attack.

The *Chicago Times*, a leading Democratic paper of the Middle West, printed an account of the start of the riot which resembled the *Plain Dealer* account but put Wells in the position of shooting in self-defense:

> Sallee put his hand on Wells' shoulder, who stepped back and said, "If you lay your hands on me I will shoot you." Sallee said he would shoot back. A minute after, it is said, Wells fired his pistol, whether at Sallee or not is not known.[32]

Colonel Mitchell of the 54th Illinois, who was present and wounded in the riot, in his official report on the riot wrote:

> Wells . . . commenced firing at Private Oliver Sallee . . . . so far as I can learn without the slightest provocation . . . . Sallee fell, but partially rising, shot Wells dead.[33]

Mitchell was in the courthouse when the riot started, and thus did not actually witness the first shots.

In view of the conflicting evidence it is impossible to say positively who fired the first shot, although it was probably Nelson Wells, the Copperhead. It is also impossible to say whether or not Wells shot in self-defense. At any rate it is probable that both men had been drinking and were not averse to a quarrel. Evidence given after the riot indicates that before the riot Wells became involved in an argument with a soldier. After the soldier left him, Wells was heard

[31] Memoirs of Frank T. O'Hair.

[32] *Columbus Crisis*, April 6, 1864. Substantially the same account appeared in the St. Louis *Missouri Republican* (reprinted in *New York World*, April 6, 1864).

[33] *Official Records*, 1 ser., XXXII, pt. 1: 633.

to make the following remark:

> By God we have taken all we are going to take from the soldiers, and if the soldiers do not quit their cutting up Hell would be to pay.[34]

Evidently Wells was incensed at the soldiers and therefore was quick to resent any move by Sallee.

The shooting soon became general. The altercation between Wells and Sallee took place near the south wall of the county clerk's office in a small building on the courthouse lawn northwest of the west entrance of the courthouse. On the opposite or east side of the courthouse was a small office building used by County Judge Gideon Edwards. According to the *Plain Dealer*:

> The Copperheads were gathered behind Judge Edwards' office loading their fire arms, and then would step out and fire from the corner at the soldiers indiscriminately, with guns and revolvers.

According to this account most of the soldiers were unarmed for they were not expecting such an attack. Thus the Copperheads had a decided advantage.

> The Copperheads were seen to hurry to their wagons, hitched at the Square and gather therefrom several guns, which were concealed under the straw. They were freely used and with terrible effect.[35]

The account then describes the wounding of two civilians, Thomas Jeffries and William Gilman, Republicans, and the near escape of Colonel Mitchell whose life was saved by a bullet striking his watch.

> Dr. York, surgeon of the 54th Illinois, while passing through the Court House, was approached by some one from behind, who took deliberate aim and shot him dead—the pistol being held so close to him that the powder burned his coat.

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[34] Testimony of Henry G. Green, Charleston Riot Affidavits, p. 86.

[35] Also affidavits in Charleston Riot Affidavits, pp. 4, 17, 22, 26, 27, 33, 36, 135, for example.

Coles County Courthouse, Charleston, 1864

Dr. York, according to this account, did not take part in the fighting prior to his death except for efforts to restore order. The death of one soldier, Alfred Swim of Company G, and the serious wounding of two others, Deputy Provost Marshal William G. Hart, of the 62nd Illinois, and James Goodrich, Company C, 54th Illinois, followed. Hart and Goodrich later died. This portion of the account mentions all of the soldiers who were killed except John Neer, of Company G.[36]

Colonel Mitchell's report does not vary from the above except to give additional details. After the Wells-Sallee shooting, the Colonel reported:

> Immediately firing became general, the sheriff of this county, John H. O'Hair, leaving his seat and taking the lead in the attack upon the soldiers . . . .
>
> Immediately on the report of Wells' pistol I stepped out of the west door of the court-room, when 3 men with revolvers drawn, apparently expecting me, commenced firing, 2 of them running by me into the room . . . .
>
> Maj. Shuball York . . . was shot from behind as he was leaving the court-room, expiring almost instantly.
>
> The attack could not have lasted over a minute, during which one hundred shots must have been fired, nearly all of my men being either killed or wounded. The fact that my men, scattered as they were over the square, were instantly shot down, and the systematic manner in which the sheriff rallied and drew off his party, together with affidavits of reliable citizens forwarded, leaves no room to doubt that a party of men came to Charleston armed with revolvers and shotguns with the knowledge and consent of Sheriff O'Hair, with deliberate intention of killing the soldiers.[37]

An account much more favorable to the Copperheads is contained in Frank T. O'Hair's Memoirs. After the

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[36] Affidavits in Charleston Riot Affidavits, pp. 33, 36, 39; *Charleston Plain Dealer*, Extra, March 29, 1864.

[37] Charleston Riot Affidavits, pp. 4, 14, 26, 28; *Official Records*, 1 ser., XXXII, pt. 1: 633-34. Colonel Mitchell was attacked by Robert Winkler, but scuffled with him and seized his pistol, according to the testimony of James D. Ellington.

failure of his effort to aid Wells, Elsberry Hanks rapidly went to the courthouse in search of the sheriff. Meanwhile, intoxicated soldiers began to shoot at the courthouse indiscriminately, and bullets passed through the courtroom. At the outbreak of the trouble Sheriff O'Hair left the courtroom and shot his way outside of the building, leaving by the west door. As sheriff of the county he sought to restore order. When Hanks entered the courthouse, Major York, according to this account, sought to shoot him, but was killed himself before he could shoot. A picturesque figure during the shooting was John Frazier, a farmer, who had started for home but returned when he heard the shooting. He rode around the square on his horse, shooting at the soldiers and shouting encouragement to the Democrats.[38]

Judge Constable, according to an account written many years later, hurriedly left the courthouse when the shooting commenced, and sought refuge in an alley on the east side of the square.

> [Two small boys] saw Judge Constable, white and trembling, in an angle of the wall in the alley to their right, evidently uncertain what to do or where to go next. How a man of his portly form could have vacated the Judge's bench, come down from the court room, and got there so soon after the firing began never ceased to be a wonder to those boys.[39]

The shooting was so intense for a short time that the bark was shot off a number of trees around the square. Colonel Mitchell reported that some sixteen of his men were present on the square when the trouble started, and that nearly all of them were killed or wounded. Actually nine members of the 54th were

[38] Memoirs of Frank T. O'Hair; Charleston Riot Affidavits, pp. 13, 26.
[39] Wilson, *History of Coles County*, 667.

casualties—five killed, including Major York, and four wounded, including Colonel Mitchell.[40]

The soldiers were hopelessly outnumbered. The list of those arrested after the riot, and the names of those participating, according to eyewitness accounts taken as affidavits, makes a total of sixty men, thirty-one of whom were actually seen to be shooting, according to the affiants. The Copperhead losses were small. The only death among them, after the shooting of Wells, was after the fighting was over, when John Cooper, who had taken part in the riot and had been captured, tried to break away from his captors when being taken along the south side of the square toward the south door of the courthouse. He ran toward Jenkins Brothers' store (a few doors east of the center of the block on the south side) and was killed. A stray shot of this fusilade also killed John Jenkins, younger brother of the proprietors, and a Republican. He had taken no part in the riot.

A complete list of the casualties shows that the Copperheads were either better armed or better marksmen than their opponents, or both:

KILLED (nine)

Major Shubal York of Paris, surgeon, 54th Illinois. Eyewitness accounts name four different men as his assailants—Elsberry Hanks, Henderson O'Hair, Jesse O'Hair, and George Thomas. Press reports named Green Hanks of Paris.[41]

Alfred Swim of Casey, private, Company G, 54th Illinois. Supposed to have been shot by Elsberry

[40] *Official Records*, 1 ser., XXXII, pt. 1: 633.

[41] *Mattoon Gazette*, April 6, 1864. Probably not correct. Green Hanks, according to family tradition, did not take an active part in the riot (quoting Adin Baber). His name does not appear in any of the depositions.

Hanks or by Sheriff O'Hair.

James Goodrich of Charleston, private, Company C, 54th Illinois. Probably shot by Sheriff O'Hair.

William G. Hart, deputy provost marshal and member of 62nd Illinois. Shot by unknown assailant.

Oliver Sallee of Charleston, private, Company C, 54th Illinois. Shot at by Nelson Wells. Probably killed by unknown assailant.

John Neer of Martinsville, private, Company G, 54th Illinois. Henderson O'Hair and John Frazier were seen to shoot at him.

Nelson Wells of Edgar County, Copperhead. Shot by Oliver Sallee.

John Cooper of Salisbury, Copperhead. Shot when trying to escape after capture.

John Jenkins of Charleston, Republican. Shot accidentally by fire intended for Cooper.

WOUNDED (twelve)

Colonel Greenville M. Mitchell, of Charleston, commanding 54th Illinois. Slight flesh wound, bullet stopped by watch. James O'Hair, Sr., was seen shooting at him. Ben Dukes may have fired the shot stopped by the watch.

William H. Decker of Greenup, private, Company G, 54th Illinois. Slightly wounded.

George Ross of Charleston, private, Company C, 54th Illinois. Slightly wounded.

Lansford Noyes, private, Company I, 54th Illinois. Slightly wounded in the back.

Thomas Jeffries of Charleston. Republican. Severely wounded. Witnesses reported having seen four men shoot at him—Elsberry Hanks, James M. Houck, Bryant Thornhill and———Weatherall.

William Gilman of Charleston, Republican. Severely wounded, possibly by Ben Dukes.
John Trimble, Republican. Slightly wounded.
George Jefferson Collins, Copperhead. Wounded in left arm.
John W. Herndon, Copperhead. Wounded in the heel.
Benjamin F. Reardon, Copperhead. Hit on head by a brick.
Robert Winkler, Copperhead. Wounded in the hand.
Young E. Winkler, Copperhead. Shot in the arm.[42]

Sheriff John H. O'Hair was nicked in the chin by a bullet while he was still in the courthouse, but he is not included in the total of wounded.

TOTAL

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Soldiers | 6 killed, | 4 wounded |
| Civilians | | |
| Republicans | 1 killed, | 3 wounded |
| Copperheads | 2 killed, | 5 wounded |
| | 9 | 12 |

Thus it is clear that the Copperheads had the best of the argument. An examination of the after-the-fight affidavits indicates that most of the shooting on both sides was done by civilians and that most of the soldiers were unarmed. No Copperheads were killed in the fighting proper, after the death of Nelson Wells. The five who were wounded were only slightly so, one of them by a brick rather than a bullet. It is impossible to be certain that any one man killed or shot any particular person, although the affidavits indicate that

[42] Lists compiled from account in *Charleston Plain Dealer*, March 29, 1864, Colonel Mitchell's Report (*Official Records*, 1 ser., XXXII, pt. 1: 633-34) and affidavits taken after the riot (Coles County Circuit Court Records, pp. 4, 15, 28, 33, 36, 38-39, 43, 53-54, 56, 68, 77-78, 90, 95, 97, 100, 112, 129, 131, 140-41).

certain men were killed or wounded by certain others. But these affidavits are of doubtful accuracy for two reasons. In the first place they were taken for the purpose of incriminating various Copperheads, and the affiants—most of whom were Republicans—were in many cases eager to show the guilt of those who were known to be Copperheads. In the second place the entire affair took but a few minutes and was attended by the greatest confusion. Eyewitness accounts of such events are notoriously unreliable.

To resume the chronicle of events. After the flurry of shooting, the Copperheads gathered near the southeast corner of the square and withdrew to the east in a group. The *Plain Dealer* account stated:

> Colonel Mitchell soon rallied all he could, citizens and soldiers, and improvising such arms as could be had, gathered at the southwest corner of the Square, as the Copperheads retreated down the street running east therefrom. Dispatches were sent to Mattoon for soldiers, and three hundred were soon on the way. The Copperheads halted somewhere near Mrs. Dickson's and remained for some time, then turned and went off. Beyond J. H. O'Hair's residence they gathered together, consulted for a time, and then moved off in a northeasterly direction, cutting the telegraph wire as they went.[43] . . . About five o'clock the reinforcements from Mattoon arrived.

Immediately, "squads, mounted upon all the horses that could be found, were started out in every direction in pursuit."[44] Colonel Mitchell reported:

> Some 75 men, after firing wherever they could see a blue coat, collected at a grove about one-quarter of a mile from the square east of town, under the lead of the sheriff, held a consultation, and learning the Fifty-fourth Illinois were on their way from Mattoon, moved out in the country.

As soon as the shooting was over, the Colonel

[43] Wires cut by Robert McLain, according to local tradition.
[44] *Charleston Plain Dealer*, March 29, 1864.

reported his actions as follows:

I telegraphed to Colonel Chapman[45] at Mattoon to bring men and guns. He arrived at 4:30 P.M. with 250 men. I immediately mounted 75 men and scoured the country in all directions, arresting several parties implicated, and releasing Levi Freesner, private Company C, Fifty-fourth Illinois, who was confined in a house under guard 7 miles from town. He was arrested by Sheriff O'Hair some distance from the square while on his way to the station to take the cars for Mattoon, and knew nothing of the affray.[46]

Freesner was captured about four o'clock, when coming from his home in east Charleston to take the train to Mattoon to rejoin his regiment. His seizure occurred two blocks east of the square on what is now Jackson Street, which runs east and west along the south side of the square.[47] He met Sheriff O'Hair and a party of about twenty men, armed with pistols and shotguns. He testified later:

John O'Hair hollowed to me to halt. I had heard nothing of the fuss and paid no attention to it, until the command had been given three times. I then stopped and John O'Hair and others run up and took hold of my gun saying that I should consider myself their prisoner.[48]

Although Freesner did not mention it in his affidavit, a witness to his capture made affidavit later:

When they went to arrest Freizner [*sic*], they all rushed up with their guns, and I think would have shot him but for John O'Hair who said he had surrendered and not shoot him.[49]

Freesner's account of his movements after his capture gives a good idea of those of the party under Sheriff O'Hair. Freesner stated that the sheriff's party (with

[45] Lieutenant Colonel Augustus C. Chapman of Charleston. He married Harriet Hanks, daughter of Dennis Hanks, second cousin of Abraham Lincoln.
[46] *Official Records*, 1 ser., XXXII, pt. 1: 633-34.
[47] Affidavit of Robert Smith, Charleston Riot Affidavits, p. 19.
[48] Affidavit of Levi Freesner, p. 121.
[49] Affidavit of H. N. Turner, p. 10.

him in their custody) went northeast of Charleston to a meadow "where their forces appeared to collect." From there they crossed the railroad, cutting the telegraph line, and proceeded north, collecting guns and ammunition from houses along their route. They also secured a horse at a farm five miles northeast of the village.[50] Eventually the party decided to scatter to get supper and feed their horses. After eating, about two hundred men collected "at a Black Smith shop, just on the edge of the timber. This took place about nine o'clock." Freesner was taken to the house of Miles Murphy, nearby, where he was held under guard until rescued by a scouting party of soldiers about 1:00 A.M. Eight Copperheads, including three Murphys and three Hardwickes, were arrested by the party that rescued him.[51] The location of these events was in the "O'Hair settlement" in northeastern Coles County near the present village of Bushton.

A news report, in a Democratic paper, described the movement of O'Hair and his friends beyond the "O'Hair settlement" as follows:

> The O'Hair men passed through the settlement to Gollady's Mills [in Morgan Township], and thence to Donicy's [Donica's] Point, some ten or twelve miles from town [in East Oakland Township, on the Little Embarrass River]. Whatever accessions were made to their force was by representing that the soldiers had risen to break up the Democratic party, and override the liberties and property of the people—of course giving an excited and exaggerated color to the origin of the fight. It is not now known what number they enlisted, but the highest probable figure is from one hundred to one hundred and fifty. Their present whereabouts [April 1] are unknown, but it is believed they have disbanded and dispersed. The people of this place and Mattoon have been in a fever of appre-

[50] Affidavit of John Winkleblack, p. 110. The Copperheads took two guns belonging to him, as well as the horse. They threatened to shoot him.

[51] Affidavit of Levi Freesner, pp. 121-22.

hension in regard to an attack, but no such result has followed their fears, nor will any.[52]

William Clapp, who joined Sheriff O'Hair's party after they left Charleston, recounted in some detail the movements of the Copperheads, in his deposition taken on April 6. At the meeting at the blacksmith shop, mentioned by Freesner, in reply to the question as to whether they were taking up arms against the government, Sheriff O'Hair said "not against the government but against a mob." The men (about eighty or ninety, according to Clapp) were ordered to meet the next morning at Donica's Point. About thirty men were at the Point the next morning. O'Hair was not there, and it was reported that he had gone to Edgar County. At this meeting Bryant Thornhill proposed that a large force be collected to return to Charleston and "clean out the place" but he was overruled. The group broke up into smaller parties. The one Clapp was with remained away from Charleston until Saturday, going as far south as Martinsville, when they heard that there was no danger in Charleston for those who had no part in the riot. Thereupon most of Clapp's group started for home.[53]

Following the withdrawal of the Copperheads, rumors began to circulate that after receiving reinforcements they would return to attack Charleston. Actually the Copperheads were definitely "on the run," closely pursued by the scouting parties sent out by Colonel Mitchell.

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[52] Charleston dispatch (April 1, 1864) to *Missouri Republican* in *New York World*, April 6, 1864.

[53] Charleston Riot Affidavits, pp. 49-52. Deposition by Nathan Thomas, pp. 71-73, parallels that of Clapp, without serious discrepancy. Jacob Daisey also testified to similar movements, p. 118.

A dispatch from Charleston to the *Chicago Tribune* the morning after the riot reported that about nineteen prisoners had been brought in and were being held under guard at the courthouse. By 11:30 A.M. the number had reached about forty, according to the *Charleston Plain Dealer*: "Colonel Mitchell is now having a conference with Hon. O. B. Ficklin, Judge Constable and other prominent citizens, who appear anxious that steps shall be taken to prevent any further outbreak."[54] A dispatch to the *Chicago Tribune* from Mattoon that morning (the twenty-ninth) reported all quiet in Charleston during the night of the twenty-eighth but referred to about one hundred "rebels" who were encamped several miles east of the city. According to the *Tribune's* informant, "Four hundred men of the 54th Illinois leave Charleston tonight to attack the rebels, who are said to be 300 strong, under command of Sheriff John H. O'Hair, intrenched at Golliday's Mills, ten miles northeast of Charleston." A portion of the regiment was retained in Mattoon to protect that city, "it being threatened from Shelby and Moultrie counties."[55]

Sheriff O'Hair, in an effort to prevent further violence, left word at a farmhouse some eight miles east of Charleston that if the Colonel would make his soldiers "behave" he would make his followers do the same. The comment of the *Charleston Plain Dealer* to this offer by the sheriff was that his men probably would behave.[56]

Rumors concerning movements of the Copperheads

[54] *Charleston Plain Dealer*, broadside, March 29, 1864.
[55] *Chicago Tribune*, March 30, 1864. See also *post*, p. 42.
[56] *Chicago Tribune*, April 2, 1864; *Charleston Plain Dealer*, broadside, March 29, 1864.

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continued for four or five days after the riot. In addition to the rumors that Sheriff O'Hair, with some three hundred men east of the city planned an attack in order to free the prisoners, large parties of Copperheads were reported west of Mattoon, south of Mattoon, and southeast of Charleston.[57] The "rebels" alleged to have been assembled at Windsor, west of Mattoon, took a vote to move on Mattoon and release prisoners held there, but the capture of their spy frightened them and they disbanded, according to a Mattoon dispatch of March 31 to the *Chicago Tribune*. The same source reported a similar ending to hopes of the Copperheads who had gathered at Neoga, south of Mattoon. As late as the evening of April 2, five days after the riot, a rumor of large bodies of Copperheads in the region southeast of Charleston lead Colonel Mitchell to take 100 soldiers on a wild-goose chase through the counties south and east of Charleston. He reported: "I found that bodies of men from 25 to 100 had been seen, but had dispersed; one squad of 16 I arrested but released."[58]

The combined strength of the various bodies of hostile Copperheads reported to be assembling to attack Charleston or Mattoon would have amounted to 2,000 men or more. The most exaggerated report noted came from the Confederacy. The *Richmond Daily Examiner* for April 6 stated: "The *Baltimore American* of the 2nd instant has been received. It contains a dispatch from the 'seat of war' in Illinois, representing that a scout reported the rebels fifteen thousand strong entrenched three miles from Mattoon."[59]

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[57] *Chicago Tribune*, April 1, 1864; *Columbus Crisis*, April 6, 1864.
[58] *Chicago Tribune*, April 1, 1864; *Official Records*, 1 ser., XXXII, pt. 1: 634.
[59] *Cincinnati Gazette*, March 31, 1864; *Richmond* [Va.] *Daily Examiner*, April 6, 1864.

In order to meet the rumored attacks of armed Copperheads upon Mattoon and Charleston the military authorities concentrated over two thousand soldiers in the county. In addition to the 54th Illinois, already on the spot, the 41st Illinois was ordered to Mattoon from Springfield on March 30. The 47th Indiana came from Indianapolis, but remained only one day. A company of the Veteran Reserve (or "Invalid") Corps, from Paris, was held at Charleston from March 29. The 41st left Coles County on April 11 and the 54th on April 12.[60]

Even the presence of these large bodies of soldiers was deemed inadequate to insure the safety of Charleston, according to one report, so a popular subscription was taken up with which seventy-five rifles were bought in St. Loius for use by the Republicans.[61] Perhaps they wished to be prepared for a flare-up by the Copperheads after the soldiers had gone.

On the night of March 30, Mattoon was seriously expecting an attack by some thousand to fifteen hundred Copperheads. A Mattoon dispatch to the *Chicago Tribune* declared: "Every preparation has been made to give them a warm reception. It is believed that with the united efforts of the citizens and soldiers still here, the place can be held until the arrival of reenforcements."[62] Such a report reads as though a division of the Confederate army were expected. One explanation of the riot in Charleston was that it was planned by the Copperheads to create a diversion of federal interest away from a movement in Kentucky by Confederate General N. B.

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[60] *Adj. Gen.'s Report, Ill.*, III: 198; *Official Records*, 1 ser., XXXII, pt. 1: 631.

[61] Charleston dispatch, April 1, 1864 to *Missouri Republican*, in *New York World*, April 6, 1864.

[62] Mattoon dispatch, March 30, 1864 to *Chicago Tribune*, in *Cincinnati Gazette*, March 31, 1864.

Forrest, who had attacked Paducah, Kentucky, on March 25. According to this reasoning, it was not known, up to the twenty-eighth, that Forrest had abandoned any intention of invading Illinois.

> Under the impression, doubtless, that killing a few persons in this locality would draw away the attention of the authorities from the movement of Forrest, was the Charleston affair planned and executed by the Coles County Copperheads. The defeat of Forrest's forces disarranged the plan of action, and, without a doubt, prevented a general uprising of the traitor faction in Southern Illinois, and perhaps in other localities in the State.

The "conspiracy" explanation was admitted by Judge Constable, according to a Springfield paper.[63]

Over fifty prisoners were taken by the soldiers in Charleston and Mattoon, twenty-seven of them by Colonel Mitchell and the remainder by the military authorities in Mattoon. Those taken by Mitchell were first lodged in the Charleston courthouse and then were taken to Mattoon where, with the local prisoners, they were held in the Presbyterian Church.[64] Preliminary examinations led to all but twenty-nine of these men being released. What had happened, of course, was that in the excitement of the hour any person known to be an opponent of the administration was likely to be taken up.

Lieutenant Colonel James Oakes, assistant provost marshal general for Illinois, ordered the twenty-nine taken to Camp Yates, near Springfield, on April 8. Here he examined these men, and the evidence concerning them forwarded from Coles County, and ordered the release of thirteen of them. One of the remaining six-

[63] *Cincinnati Gazette*, April 5, 1864, quoting *Peoria* [Ill.] *Transcript*, and *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield).

[64] *Official Records*, 1 ser., XXXII, pt. 1: 635; *Cincinnati Gazette*, April 7, 1864, quoting *Chicago Tribune*, April 2, 1864.

teen, Miles Murphy, died while in custody at Camp Yates, leaving fifteen held for further action. Colonel Oakes recommended that they be tried by military, rather than civil, law in order to prevent probable "future and more daring machinations against the Government."

The fifteen men were transferred from Camp Yates to Fort Delaware, Delaware, on an island in the Delaware River, and held there until November. Their names were:

Bryant Thornhill
George Jefferson Collins—wounded in the riot
John F. Redmon
George Washington Reardon [Rardin]
Benjamin F. Reardon [Rardin]—wounded in the riot
Blueford E. Brooks
John Galbreath
Aaron Bryant—lost his toes while at Fort Delaware
John Reynolds
John T. Taylor
John W. Herndon—wounded in the riot
John W. Murphy and his brother
Michael Murphy, sons of Miles Murphy who died at Camp Yates
Miner Shelborne [or Shelbourne]
William P. Hardwicke[65]

All of these, except Thornhill and G. W. Rardin, had been captured by Colonel Mitchell. Although these men were held for seven months, they were never brought to a military trial, even though a writ of habeas corpus, issued by the United States Circuit Court, requiring them to be delivered up to the civil authorities,

[65] *Official Records*, 1 ser., XXXII, pt. 1: 631-32; 635-43.

had been disregarded by the military authorities. Although a report by the Judge Advocate General to the President, recommending their trial by a military court, was made in July, 1864, it was not until November 4 that President Lincoln finally disposed of their cases by ordering: "Let these prisoners be sent back to Coles County, Illinois, those indicted be surrendered to the sheriff of said county, and the others be discharged."[66]

The President's action may have been caused by his reluctance to see the civil authorities overborne by the military, or it may have been a desire to deal lightly with the Coles County men, some of whom he probably had met, and some of whom, the Murphys and Hardwickes, were distantly related to him by marriage.[67] A possible explanation for the release of these men may be seen in the recommendations of two commissioners appointed to hear and determine the cases of prisoners of state at Forts Delaware and McHenry. There were thirty-two such prisoners at Fort Delaware. The commissioners' report, dated September 30, 1864, recommended that eighteen prisoners (not listed by name or by place of confinement) be released on condition that they take an oath of allegiance to the federal government. The nature of the other recommendations indicates that the fifteen Charleston riot prisoners were among these eighteen.[68]

A family tradition provides an interesting explanation of their release. According to this story the families and friends of the men held in Fort Delaware, in July, 1864, raised a purse of $1,000 which they offered to ex-

[66] *Official Records*, 1 ser., XXXII, pt. 1: 643.
[67] See *post*, p. 43.
[68] *Official Records*, 2 ser., VII: 898.

Congressman Orlando B. Ficklin, who knew Lincoln, if he would go to Washington, see the President, and attempt to secure their release. Ficklin accepted the commission, went to Washington, but failed to see the President as he arrived at the time of the excitement of Jubal Early's raid on the capital in July.

Next Dennis Hanks, relative and early intimate of the President, was approached. Hanks offered to go to Washington, but declined any payment other than the expenses of the trip. Hanks saw Lincoln, who cordially welcomed him, presented him with a silver watch, for Dennis had lost his watch on the trip to Washington, and issued the order for the release of the prisoners over the objection of Secretary of War Stanton. So promptly were they released that the fifteen prisoners reached Coles County before Hanks got back from Washington.[69]

Many civilians assisted the soldiers in rounding up Copperheads, but some did not confine themselves to helping the troops. Both the Charleston and rural homes of Sheriff O'Hair were visited by "Home Guards," who, failing to find the sheriff, relieved their disappointment by helping themselves to his property. Furniture, rugs, and food were taken from the Charleston home. A party from Mattoon went to O'Hair's rural home and returned without the sheriff, but with five loads of corn. In Mattoon it was reported that public disapproval of Copperheads and their sympathizers led to forcing George R. Rust—the correspondent of the *Chicago Times*, a Democratic paper—out of town, to prevent his being

[69] From John H. Reardon, Jr., of Charleston, July, 1938, story confirmed by Wigfall O'Hair of Edgar County. Hank's interview with Lincoln described in "Abe Lincoln's Comrade," an interview with Hanks by Robert McIntyre of Charleston, reprinted in supplement to *Shelby County Leader* (Shelbyville, Ill.), Feb., 1928. Interview occurred about 1885. The watch incident is recounted in the *Paris Beacon-News*, Oct. 16, 1930, by Thomas B. Shoaff, grandson of Dennis Hanks.

lynched by the angry citizens.[70]

Despite the combined efforts of soldiers and citizens, many of the so-called ringleaders of the Copperheads escaped capture. Chagrined at the escape of the sheriff and some of his particular friends, the men of the 54th Illinois, under a Charleston date of April 2, inserted a reward notice in the local press, as follows:

MURDER!

The 54th Regiment, Illinois Volunteers, offer *ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS REWARD* for the apprehension of

John H. O'Hair, Sheriff of Coles County, J. Elsberry Hanks, John Frazier, James W. Frazier, Henderson O'Hair, Jesse O'Hair, B. F. Toland, and B. F. Dukes. All of whom were engaged in the murder of Major York and four soldiers of the 54th Regiment, and the wounding of several others, in Charleston, on Monday, March 28th, 1864.

DESCRIPTION follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| John H. O'Hair | 5′ 11″, | age 35, | farmer |
| J. Elsberry Hanks | 5′ 8″, | 35, | " |
| John Frazier | 5′ 10″, | 32, | " |
| James W. Frazier | 6′ | 40, | " |
| Henderson O'Hair | 6′ | 40, | " |
| Jesse O'Hair | 5′ 9″, | .. | no occupation |
| B. F. Toland | 5′ 10″, | 35, | farmer |
| B. F. Dukes | 5′ 8″, | 35, | loafer |

Added to the notice by the soldiers was this paragraph:

The citizens of Coles County will pay $300 for the apprehension of J. H. O'Hair, and $100 for each of the above named, and for Alexander Rogers. This reward will be given whether dead or alive. Dukes is badly cut about the face.[71]

In spite of the search by soldiers and civilians, stimulated by reward offers, John H. O'Hair, Berry Hanks, John Frazier, and the others listed in this reward notice

[70] Memoirs of Frank T. O'Hair; *Chicago Tribune*, April 2, 1864; *Mattoon Gazette*, April 6, 1864.

[71] *Mattoon Gazette*, April 6, 1864.

were not caught. Most of them remained away from Coles County for a year or so. Upon their return (in most cases after the war was over), they were not molested. John H. O'Hair and his cousin, Berry Hanks, according to a family tradition, went to Canada, where they remained for about a year. The first train they boarded, at Fairmount, Vermilion County, a station north of Paris on the Toledo, Wabash and Great Western Railroad, was filled with soldiers, so they walked the length of the train and got off at the rear, to await a more hospitable train. Thus while they were merrily rolling along on their way to Canada they read news reports from Coles County that pictured O'Hair leading large parties of Copperheads in various parts of eastern Illinois.[72]

One interesting item about this whole affair is that there is reason to believe that some of the "Charleston rioters" were relatives of President Lincoln, whose administration they opposed. Michael O'Hair, Revolutionary War soldier of Irish birth, reared a family of fourteen children in Kentucky. A son John married Eliza Hardwicke. They moved to Illinois where they had six sons: M. Elsberry, Nelson, Henderson, James, J. Ogdon, and John Hardwicke, sheriff of Coles County. Mary O'Hair, a daughter of old Michael, married William Hanks, the son of Sarah Hanks, who, according to family tradition, was a daughter of Lucy Hanks, Lincoln's grandmother. To this union there were born twelve children, including John Elsberry ("Berry") and Stephen Greenville ("Green") of this account. Further genealogical details bring the names of Wells, Swango and Murphy into the relationship. Representatives of

[72] From Wigfall S. O'Hair; see also *ante*, p. 34.

each of their families were involved in the Charleston riot.[73] Thus many of those denounced as traitors and Copperheads by their neighbors were, probably, related to Abraham Lincoln by blood or marriage.

The civil authorities of Coles County made an effort to punish the leaders among the Copperheads. On April 20 Judge Constable ordered a special term of the Circuit Court, to meet in May. The grand jury on June 11 brought indictments for murder against the following fourteen alleged participants in the riot: John O'Hair, James O'Hair, Jesse O'Hair, Henderson O'Hair, Elsberry Hanks, James Houck, Alexander Rogers, John Redmon, Washington Rardin, Robert McLain, B. F. Toland, B. F. Dukes, Robert Winkler and John Frazier.[74] Eight of these men were among those listed in the reward notice of April 2. Redmon and Rardin were among those taken to Fort Delaware and held until November.[75]

The case came up for trial the following April (1865), but since none of those indicted was in custody, the case was ordered continued on the motion of the state's attorney. The following November (1865) the same action was taken. In October, 1867, the court records show that the case came up again, was continued as before, and that it was ordered by the court that further process issue for the arrest of the defendants. This procedure was repeated in March, 1868, and also in October of that year. The case disappears from the records of the Coles County Circuit Court at this point.[76] It seems

[73] Data from Adin Baber, grandson of Mary Ellen Hanks, daughter of William Hanks and his wife Mary.

[74] Coles County Circuit Court Records, 8: 529.

[75] See *ante*, pp. 38 and 41.

[76] Circuit Court Records, 9: 242, 456; 11: 403; 12: 10, 301.

clear that no very strenuous effort could have been made to arrest and try these men, for many, if not all of them, had returned to their homes long before 1868. Only two of them, Rardin and Redmon, were ever brought to trial, as explained later.

The indictments against these fourteen men were based upon testimony before the grand jury by twenty-six witnesses, all but two of whom had testified before justices of the peace during the days immediately following the riot.[77] There had been a total of about a hundred witnesses who made such affidavits. Most of them were Republicans, but a few, such as Orlando B. Ficklin, former Congressman, and Isaiah H. Johnston, acting sheriff and deputy under Sheriff O'Hair, were Democrats.

In November, 1864, while the Coles County indictments were still pending, two of the defendants, George Washington Rardin and John Redmon, were returned from Fort Delaware and delivered to the Coles County officials. This was in accordance with President Lincoln's order, for they only, of the fifteen held at Fort Delaware, were among those indicted by the Coles County grand jury. Upon their return to Coles County, Rardin and Redmon on November 25 applied to Judge Constable for a change of venue, alleging that they could not "receive a fair and impartial trial in this case in Coles County on account of the prejudice existing in the minds of the inhabitants of Coles County against them." On the same day Judge Constable granted their petition, and ordered the sheriff of Coles County to

[77] The information about the grand jury indictment in Coles County, and further actions in Shelby and Effingham counties (see *post*, p. 45 ff.) comes from records in Effingham County Circuit Court, Effingham, Ill. Examined through the courtesy of Fred H. Hardiek, circuit clerk. See Box 55 for grand jury action, Coles County.

bring the defendants before him in Shelbyville, Illinois, where he was holding Circuit Court.[78]

On December 3, 1864, Rardin and Redmon were brought into court at Shelbyville, before Judge Constable, and they pleaded not guilty. With the consent of both defendants and the state's attorney the venue of the case was changed a second time, to the Circuit Court to be held at Effingham, Illinois, on December 6. Twenty witnesses were on hand to testify in Shelbyville out of thirty-three subpoenaed from Coles County. With the change in venue, nineteen of them were placed under $50 bond to appear at Effingham on December 6. Of these witnesses, three of them had testified before the Coles County grand jury, and three of them, Young E. Winkler, Peter Redmon, and Joseph Carter, had been participants in the riot.

The case of the People vs. George W. Raridan [Rardin] and John Redmon opened in Effingham County Circuit Court on December 7, 1864. In the absence of the state's attorney, three state's attorneys pro tem were appointed by the court. The names on the petit jury panel were challenged by the prosecution, and the sheriff summoned twenty-four bystanders. From these, eight jurors were chosen, and four additional bystanders completed the jury. Thirty-eight witnesses appeared in the case, eighteen of whom had also attended the proceedings in Shelby County.[79]

The Effingham records contain no information concerning the testimony offered at the trial. Eight affiants before justices of the peace in Charleston after the riot testified that they saw John Redmon actually use a gun

[78] Effingham Circuit Court Records, Box 55.
[79] *Ibid.*, Record C: 351.

during the riot. Two of these, Felix Landers and W. A. Braselton, were among the witnesses brought to the Effingham trial. On March 31 at Charleston, Landers made affidavit:

> I saw John F. Redmon take a gun out of a spring wagon . . . . and in a short time afterwards I saw him loading the gun on the public square, at the east end of Judge Edwards' office in a crowd of men who were armed and shooting.

Braselton's evidence, given in Charleston on April 1, was more damaging to Redmon. He swore:

> I saw John Redmon run around Judge Edwards' office and shoot at a soldier who was going into the court yard at the north gate. When Redmon fired the soldier acted as if he was hit by the shot, and at the time heard Redmon say, "God damn him I got him." This he said in a loud voice. This shot was made with a large Navy revolver.

Six witnesses in Charleston swore that they saw one of the Rardins use a gun in the riot, but only two witnesses, James D. Ellington and Samuel Bouser, specified George W. Rardin as a participant in the riot. Ellington was a witness at Effingham. At Charleston, on April 2, Ellington testified that when Colonel Mitchell was being attacked during the riot he called upon a soldier, George Ross, to help him. "Ross took hold to assist Mitchell when Washington Rardin gathered Ross and they scuffled out of the west door." This is obviously weak evidence to sustain a murder indictment. Bouser "saw Washington Rardin shoot several times from his pistol at the soldiers in the yard." Bouser, however, was not a witness at Effingham.[80]

In the absence of information concerning the trial proceedings at Effingham it is impossible to know upon

[80] Charleston Riot Affidavits, pp. 4, 60, 61, 139.

what evidence the jury based its verdict of "not guilty." Perhaps Landers and Braselton did not testify at Effingham as they had at Charleston, or perhaps the jury felt that the testimony, even if as strong as that given at Charleston, was not conclusive in establishing the guilt of the accused as murderers. Possibly also, some of the witnesses may have testified to the innocence of Redmon and Rardin. In any event, they were found not guilty, and were discharged.[81]

The trial of these two men, neither of whom can be regarded as leading spirits or ringleaders among the more violent Copperheads, was the only criminal prosecution to come out of the Charleston riot.

The question of whether or not the Copperheads involved in the Charleston riot actually committed murder, depends to a considerable extent on determining if the whole affair was planned by them. If it was a premeditated attack on the soldiers (as all Republicans believed or professed to believe at the time) it would be difficult to establish a self-defense plea for the Copperheads. Regardless of who shot whom, the brutal fact remains that *some* soldiers were shot by *some* Copperheads. It also is a fact, of course, that two of the Copperheads were killed and five were wounded. So the bloodshed was not by any means one-sided.

Concerning the question of premeditation, some of the evidence taken in Charleston a few days after the riot is of some value. Byrd Monroe testified on April 1 that he had a conversation about March 20 with John H. O'Hair in which "O'Hair said that he could get together 150 men in two hours' notice, all armed, for the purpose of putting down the soldiers." John Gossett

[81] Effingham Circuit Court Records, Record C: 351.

testified on April 7 that on March 23 one Aaron Bryant (who took part in the riot on the twenty-eighth) said to him that "he wanted me to come up on the prairie about six miles north of town the next day and join their 'order,' saying they were going to clean out the soldiers and citizens in Charleston on Friday, or Saturday."

Daniel Johnson was in Charleston the morning of March 28, the day of the riot. He witnessed a quarrel between John Frazier and another man during which Frazier said that "they had come with the intention of clearing out a certain crowd." Henderson O'Hair was in the group and said, according to Johnson: "Don't one of you Democrats leave for we came here to attend to this thing, and we must stick right together." O'Hair then remarked: "The soldiers had been running over the citizens, and we are going to clean them out." Just before the start of the shooting Johnson heard John Galbreath, Copperhead, ask two men who were at the east door of the courthouse "if they had their pistols ready, and they said 'Yes.' " Two more men joined them, and all five "went around to the west side of the court house on a fast walk—almost a run—all seemed to be greatly excited." Almost immediately the shooting commenced.[82] Johnson further testified that just before the shooting commenced he saw a line of Copperheads form in the courthouse yard west and southwest of the courthouse, facing a group of soldiers, as if they were getting into position to attack the soldiers. During the fight he saw another line of Copperheads, about forty strong, form east of the courthouse. Johnson heard one of the men in the line shout, "God boys, the town

[82] Charleston Riot Affidavits, pp. 21, 64, 103.

is ours!" Such information by the Copperheads, if Johnson testified correctly, would seem to indicate either that the Copperheads acted on a preconcerted plan, or acted in unison without leadership when they saw that trouble was likely.

Byrd Monroe testified on April 1, that shortly after noon on the riot day he heard Robert McLain say that this was the time to settle the matter. "On this day they [the Copperheads] made many insulting remarks to the soldiers and seemed to be trying to get up a difficulty; they all seemed to be prepared and to understand each other." Samuel Goodrich of Charleston, whose son James was one of the soldiers killed in the riot, testified on April 1 that on the morning of March 28 he "heard Elsberry Hanks say that they (the Butternuts) would make them (meaning the soldiers) sup sorrow before we leave town." Marcus Hill testified that about noon on the twenty-eighth "James O'Hair then came up and said boys don't return many words with them [the soldiers] we will give them hell in the outcome." Just before the shooting commenced Hill heard James O'Hair say "that if he could get Major York he would be satisfied."[83]

Robert Leitch gave perhaps the most damaging testimony of all against the Copperheads. About noon or a little later of the riot day he saw a group of about a hundred men in the courthouse yard. They appeared to be excited:

> I went over to the crowd of men and expostulated with them and told them of the evils that would be sure to result from raising a disturbance with the soldiers, and told them that I had conversed with the soldiers and knew that they intended to leave town and

[83] Charleston Riot Affidavits, pp. 21, 23, 39, 65-66.

would not molest any person if let alone. Nelson Wells and Frank Tolan [Toland] replied that they had been badly treated by them and were going to have revenge. They also said that they blamed the citizens as much as the soldiers, for they pointed them out to the soldiers and they intended to have revenge.

The depositions cast little light on the relations between the soldiers and the Republican civilians, but one affiant (James H. Buggs, former soldier) quoted a civilian, Stephen Miller, as remarking "that in his opinion the soldiers were egged on by such men as Ferguson, McLain M. C. McLain, [notary public?], and other leading citizens."[84]

It is clear that there was bad feeling between the Copperheads and the Republicans generally. Under the circumstance of war this was inevitable. It was also inevitable that the resentment of civilians and soldiers alike at the "disloyal" attitude of the Copperheads would lead to blows and assaults, and that the Copperheads would be the victims of violence and would be subjected to various indignities. Copperhead resentment would naturally lead to retaliation when the soldiers were at a disadvantage, as in Charleston on March 29. Individual Copperheads naturally voiced their desire to "get even" with the soldiers and those civilians whom they held to be responsible for their troubles. When groups of Copperheads were together there was, also naturally, loose talk of group action against the soldiers, and some of them foresaw that court day in Charleston, the same day the soldiers were leaving town, would provide a favorable situation for "squaring accounts" with their tormentors. Accordingly, they came to town prepared for trouble and not averse to

[84] Charleston Riot Affidavits, pp. 24, 41.

finding it. They were not disappointed.

But all of this falls short of saying that the Copperheads of Coles County, in any large number, deliberately plotted, under a responsible leader, such as Sheriff O'Hair, to make a premeditated and concerted attack at a particular time and place on the soldiers and their civilian admirers.

Sheriff O'Hair was a respected citizen of the county, and the holder of an important office to which he had been elected by popular vote only a year and a half before the riot (fall of 1862). When the riot started he was engaged in his official duties in the courtroom and took no part in the fighting until he left the courtroom. As sheriff he naturally and properly went to the scene of trouble, armed and ready for action, when he heard gunfire. Knowing the temper of some of the extremists among his Copperhead friends, he probably realized immediately the nature of the trouble. When he left the courtroom he saw his friends and relatives with guns in their hands. Knowing that many soldiers were in town, it is not surprising that he went to the assistance of his friends. It is important to note that the shooting lasted only a few minutes or less, and that the Copperheads, now under the leadership of the sheriff, left the square and passed out of town. There was no large body of soldiers, other than those in Charleston, closer than Mattoon, twelve miles distant. If the extremists had not been restrained by the sheriff and induced to leave town, many more soldiers and civilians would have been shot, for the Copperheads clearly had control of the situation on the square when they withdrew.

Such an interpretation of the facts in the case does not relieve Sheriff O'Hair from all blame, however. If,

instead of joining the Copperheads, and using his gun against the soldiers (as witnesses testified he did),[85] he had called upon them to lay down their arms, and, if not heeded, he had proceeded to use his weapon against the rioters, he would have fulfilled his obligation as peace officer. But that would have involved shooting at his friends and relatives. Evidently the sheriff dropped the responsibilities of office when he left the courtroom.

The immediate blame for the outbreak must rest on the shoulders of the more extreme Copperheads. If they did not deliberately pick a quarrel with the soldiers they at least welcomed it, and were quick to make a general fight of it after the Wells-Sallee shooting.

On the other hand it should not be forgotten that the Copperheads had a long list of grievances against the soldiers, that men on both sides had been drinking freely, and that loose talk by soldiers as well as Copperheads had prepared the way for an outbreak.

Press comment on the Charleston riot was almost completely conditioned by the political sympathies of the commenting journal. The day after the riot the Republican *Plain Dealer* of Charleston was bitter in its comment on the Copperheads:

> What the end of this state of things will be, we can not tell; but if the government does not now take the matter in hand, we fear that the terribly exasperated soldiery and citizens will. Union men have long been threatened and Union soldiers have been so bitterly cursed, and now brutally butchered, by those from whom better things had been expected, that forbearance will cease—has ceased—to be a virtue. Loyal men here, and the soldiers at the front, are endeavoring to uphold the laws of the land; but they cannot, and *will* not, stand unconcernedly by and see their fellows assassinated for so doing.[86]

[85] For example, testimony of B. O. Stanley, Charleston Riot Affidavits, p. 28.
[86] March 29, 1864, Broadside Extra.

This comment is remarkably restrained, considering the circumstances. Here is no incitement to Republicans to take vengeance on Democrats generally—the sort of thing one might have expected from a party organ published in the community where the riot occurred.

On the other side of Coles County the Republican *Mattoon Gazette* denounced the "treasonable designs of the Knights of the Golden Circle in this section" for months prior to the riot. "Murder and house-burning seem to have been the favorite methods of expressing their fiendish hatred for the uniform of the United States." The riot itself was the culmination of "an organized plan for the assassination of leading union men."

The *Chicago Tribune* (Republican), speaking of the Coles County region, observed editorially:

> Copperheads are numerous, and the doctrines of such sheets as the Jeff Davis organ of this city [the *Chicago Times*] pass as current gospel....The exertions of our officers to capture deserters has kindled the sparks of treason in this county into a fire that will burn until its fuel is consumed.

The *Tribune* also declared:

> The isolated cases where a soldier, released from camp discipline, has gone to the excess of liberty and debauchment furnish no clue to the malignant hatred with which they are followed by Copperheads. It is not the soldier, but the cause he serves—the uniform he wears—that has provoked this fire in the rear. . . . [The Copperheads] have found far less cause for their evil excitement in the deeds of drunken soldiers, than of soldiers in the possession of all their senses calmly and fearlessly pursuing their duty in hunting deserters among the secesh neighborhoods of that region.

The *Tribune* called for summary punishment of the Copperheads:

> Any mistaken lenity now will multiply throughout the West

instances of rebel revolt.[87]

The Charleston riot was no mere Illinois news item. It was described in considerable detail by papers in various parts of the country, and was the subject of widespread editorial comment. The *Cincinnati Gazette* (Republican) commented:

> The murderous outbreak in Illinois . . . [is] an exhibition of the organization and nature of the Democratic peace party. It is an illustration of what they mean by peace—a peace of a conspiracy armed for bloodshed and rebellion. To this favor must all come who adhere to the Democratic party.[88]

Democratic journals gave an altogether different interpretation to the riot. To the *Dayton Daily Empire*, organ of Clement L. Vallandigham, Peace Democratic leader, the whole affair looked "like a legitimate effort of civil authority to protect itself against the encroachment of military usurpation."[89]

The Washington correspondent of the *New York World*, writing on March 31, suggested that reports of trouble in Illinois should be taken with considerable allowance:

> They will be found to be greatly exaggerated, and parties at the West have a political object in circulating them, and clothing what may be trifles in the most villainous hues. The intention is to directly affect the Rhode Island and Connecticut elections. . . . A perfect chain of the most horrible circumstances will be woven, showing that Forrest is about invading Illinois; Buckner, Kentucky and Ohio, and that both rebel forces are to be met with open arms by the "disloyalists" of those states.[90]

The *World* editorially observed:

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[87] March 30, April 2, 6, 1864.
[88] April 1, 1864.
[89] March 31, 1864.
[90] April 1, 4, 1864.

The troubles in the West are clearly due to an unhealthy public sentiment among the Republicans, countenancing drunken soldiers in insulting peaceable citizens.

The news of the riot was received with joy in Dixie. The *Richmond* [Virginia] *Daily Examiner* enthusiastically described the situation in a confused and exaggerated statement:

Far north on the prairies of Illinois, the Yankee presidential campaign has auspiciously begun, as we trust it is likely to end, in riot and slaughter. A newspaper modestly expresses its disinclination to Lincoln for next President; its office is patriotically wrecked by soldiers; the Democrats of the place, headed by the bold sheriff of the county, one O'Hare [*sic*], attack the soldiers; a good many are killed and wounded on either side; the troops are reinforced, and occupy the square of the town; whereupon the insurgents retire a few miles and entrench themselves. So in that one obscure corner, to begin with, the Democratic Northwest has fairly taken to the field. . . .

But some such demonstration was expected and inevitable; the cause is good and just, for it is the preservation of all the rights and liberties which once gave dignity to an American citizen, and without which life would be a burden. Hampden never had a holier cause than O'Hare; and the occasion for asserting it is, probably, as opportune as any other that will arise hereafter.[91]

Such comment from the Confederacy shows that the Charleston riot lent "comfort" if not "aid" to the enemy. Whether they realized it or not, those Copperheads who participated in the riot were acting in a manner that verged on treason—even though they may have felt themselves amply justified on the grounds of vengeance and defense.

A dramatic aftermath of the Charleston riot occurred during the political campaign of 1864. Richard J. Oglesby, Republican candidate for Governor, spoke in Charleston and despite warnings, commenced his speech

[91] April 5, 1864.

with a denunciation of the rioters of the preceding March. Joseph G. Cannon was present, and thus described the scene:

> He stepped upon the little stand, where he stood alone, threw back his head, dilated his nostrils, inhaling the air, and then began: "I smell blood! I smell the blood of Union soldiers, here foully murdered by disloyal citizens, your neighbors and mine, shot in the back by as damnable cowards as ever wore the form of human beings!"
>
> Then lifting his hands as though in supplication and speaking in solemn and reverent tones he continued: "May Almighty God damn the souls of those cowardly murderers who committed this hellish crime; and may God in his infinite widsom damn every man who does not damn them!"

The body of the speech was a denunciation of disloyalty. "He spoke not at all of his own candidacy but for Lincoln and patriotism. He was elected by a big majority."[92]

The Charleston riot was essentially of local interest, as similar incidents did not occur elsewhere. It did, however, illustrate the factionalism of the time, and it might have occurred in many parts of the North. It represented the culmination of years of political hostility. When a combination of personal grudges and liquor was added to political hatred, the result proved to be explosive. Other disorders occurred in the North during the war—draft riots—forcible release of arrested deserters—attacks on provost marshals—attacks on Democratic journals—but the Charleston riot was the only incident of the war in which personal hostility rather than a particular issue led to a pitched battle on the streets.

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[92] *Saturday Evening Post*, July 13, 1918, p. 30.

# BENJAMIN LUNDY IN ILLINOIS

BY FRED LANDON*

ONE hundred years have passed since death closed the career of Benjamin Lundy. He died in LaSalle County, Illinois, on August 22, 1839, and was buried in the Clear Creek Quaker Cemetery, not far from the little village of McNabb. There, on Sunday, August 20, 1939, the centenary of his death was marked by the unveiling of a tablet bearing the dates of his birth and death together with Whittier's fine tribute: "It was his lot to struggle, for years almost alone, a solitary figure crying in the wilderness; yet, amidst all, faithful to his one great purpose, the emancipation of the slaves."

Lundy's work has received but small recognition when compared with that accorded to other figures in the anti-slavery crusade. He was almost the first to publish an anti-slavery newspaper, the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, which was begun as early as 1821 and continued until his death in 1839. During the decade after 1820 he, more than any other man, kept alive the cause of the slave and at the end of that decade he was the instrument whereby William Lloyd Garrison, most militant of Abolitionists, was brought into the struggle. For a brief period the two were

* For a sketch of Benjamin Lundy, prepared by Mr. Landon on the occasion of the centennial of his death, see *A Memorial to Benjamin Lundy*, compiled by The Lundy Memorial Committee of The John Swaney School Alumni and Society of Friends (n.p., [1939]).

associated in the publication of the *Genius* and when they parted company Garrison went on to found the *Liberator*. Throughout nearly all of his active career Lundy was deeply concerned with the possibility of colonization, though critical of the policies and activities of the American Colonization Society. He did not believe that the Negro should be sent back to Africa. He thought that some place should be found for him on the North American continent, and in pursuance of that objective he made repeated visits to the Mexican province of Texas as well as to the island of Haiti and to the British province of Upper Canada. In 1838, with health shattered, he removed to Illinois where his children were already settled. There he resumed publication of the *Genius*, nine numbers of which were issued prior to his death.[1]

Lundy's decision to remove to Illinois was probably influenced in some degree by the murder of Elijah P. Lovejoy. The torch which had fallen at Alton was once more to be raised aloft. Yet, almost on the eve of his departure for the West, Lundy was himself the victim of mob violence. In preparation for his removal to Illinois he had placed his few possessions in one of the rooms of Pennsylvania Hall in Philadelphia. There they were lost when that building was burned by a mob on a May evening of 1838. He wrote:

> Well, my papers, books, clothes—everything of value (except my journal in Mexico, etc.) are all gone—a total sacrifice on the

[1] Three additional numbers appeared after Lundy's death, edited probably by the young printer, Zebina Eastman, who had been associated with him. Notice of Lundy's death is found in Number 10 of the Illinois issues, dated August 16, although Lundy's death actually took place on August 22. In the last number, that of September 13, Eastman announced that as this issue completed the labor for which he had been engaged, it would be necessary for the Illinois Anti-Slavery Society to determine the future of the newspaper.

altar of Universal Emancipation. They have not yet got my conscience, they have not taken my heart, and until they rob me of these, they cannot prevent me from pleading the cause of the suffering slave.

The tyrant may even hold the body bound—
But knows not what a range the spirit takes.

I am not disheartened, though everything of earthly value (in the shape of property) is lost. Let us persevere in the good cause. We shall assuredly triumph yet.[2]

Gamaliel Bailey saw Lundy in Cincinnati in August on his way to the West. "He is bound for Illinois as you know," Bailey wrote to James G. Birney. "He intends to set up his paper there." From Putnam County in September Lundy wrote in good spirits:

I am here among my children at last—this is emphatically one of the best and most beautiful countries that I have ever seen. You shall hear from me ere long through the *Genius of Universal Emancipation.*

To this letter he added a postscript:

Since writing the above I have attended the [anti-slavery] convention at Hennepin. It was a fine large meeting composed of intelligent men and women. It passed a unanimous resolution to encourage the circulation of the *Genius* and a large number of subscriptions was immediately obtained.

In the *Genius* of February 26, 1839, there appeared a report of the proceedings at the celebration of the first anniversary of the Illinois Anti-slavery Society, recently held at Farmington. Lundy, who attended as a delegate from Putnam County, was elected one of the managers. Support was promised for the *Genius* which was now adopted as the official organ of the Society in place of the Alton *Observer* which had dis-

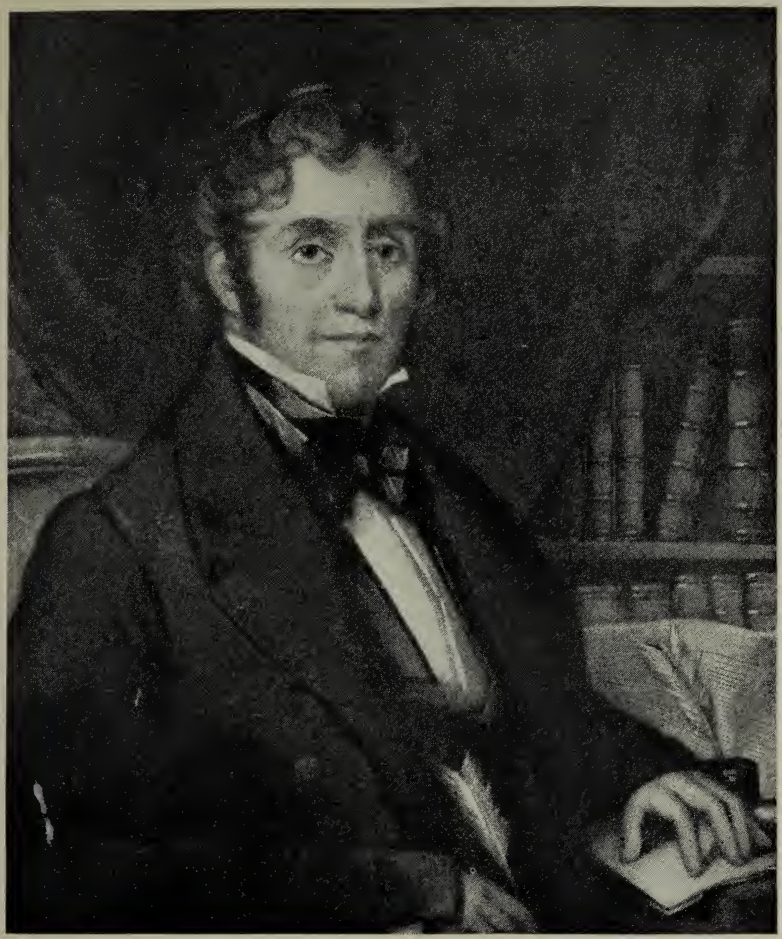
[2] The extensive quotations from the journals of the Texas journeys which appeared in the biography of Lundy published in 1847 indicate that these valuable papers may have been in existence at that time. Their present whereabouts is unknown. Lundy was awarded $900 for his losses in the burning of Pennsylvania Hall. See the *Genius*, June 28, 1839.

appeared after Lovejoy's death.[3] Resolutions which were adopted at the Farmington meeting commended the course of John Quincy Adams in defending the right of petition and also opposed the annexation of Texas.

Successive issues of the *Genius* reveal the difficulties which Lundy encountered in his effort to establish the paper. On his arrival in Illinois he had hoped to secure the press and type formerly used in printing the Hennepin *Journal* but in this he was disappointed. Instead there was secured the printing outfit of the *Commercial Advertiser*, a rabid "liberty" paper published in Chicago in 1836-1837 by Hooper Warren. This was removed to Lowell, Illinois, and was used by Lundy in producing the *Genius* and after Lundy's death by Zebina Eastman and Hooper Warren in printing the *Genius of Liberty*.[4] Three months elapsed between the publication dates of the first and second numbers. Journeymen printers were scarce and Lundy mentions that he had only one assistant in getting out the first three numbers. In March, 1839, he advertised for two printers "of good morals and steady habits" to whom he promised constant employment and liberal wages, but failing to secure this needed

[3] The effort made after Lovejoy's death to re-establish the *Observer* was abandoned because of the prevailing hostility. Lundy's arrival in the state was therefore most timely. The first number of the *Genius* printed in Illinois was dated November 8, 1838, and was listed as Vol. XVI, no. 1.

[4] See F. W. Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, VI, Springfield, 1910), 53. In the second Illinois number of the *Genius* it was announced that the printing establishment was "on Centre Street, in the town of Lowell, in the block south of Hancock Street." The publication office, however, was at the drugstore of Stickel and Edwards in the town of Hennepin. Douglas C. McMurtrie thinks it likely that Hooper Warren was associated in some way with the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* during its period of publication in Illinois since it was his printing office from which the paper appeared and he was co-editor and co-publisher of its successor, the *Genius of Liberty*. See Douglas C. McMurtrie, "The First Printers of Illinois," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXVI, no. 2 (Oct., 1933), 213.



Benjamin Lundy

help there was another interruption of nearly three months between Numbers Four and Five. Lundy did not confine his activities entirely to the printing office, however, as we see from a quaint little note in the *Genius* of July 19:

> A little pressing business, out of the printing office, has again prevented the editor from devoting as much of his attention to the paper as he desired. Among other matters, a small wheat harvest required his care. We are not about to say that all country editors should be farmers—but if some that we wot of would farm a little it might enable them to act more independently than they do.

In these Illinois numbers of the *Genius* we find record of the current activities of the local anti-slavery societies, Lundy regarding such publicity as valuable propaganda. "It will rouse the apathetic and encourage the desponding," he wrote, "to know that others are alive and active in the cause—as iron sharpeneth iron, so doth a man the countenance of his friend." Lundy was present at the fourth anniversary of the Putnam County Society on January 1, 1839, and there presented the plans of the state society for the formation of county and district societies and for the adoption of a uniform constitution. The Putnam County Society voted the money then in its treasury and such further funds as might be collected during the year to the support of the *Genius*. It decided also to appoint an agent to solicit support for the paper.

The *Genius* of March 29, 1839, contained a report of the La Salle County Anti-slavery Society's meeting which had been held at Lowell two weeks before and at which Lundy had been elected to the Board of Managers. In this issue of the *Genius* there appeared reports from societies at Lyndon, Delavan, Canton and

from the Methodist Episcopal Society at Florid. The succeeding issue, that of June 28, had reports from La Salle County and from Hadley and Knoxville, the latter place being described as hostile to the cause.

Answering a correspondent who had asked why he was opposed to the program of the American Colonization Society, Lundy wrote:

> It is lulling the consciences of our citizens, fostering an unholy prejudice against the people of color, and encouraging the spirit of mobocracy to assail the advocate of Universal Emancipation—because, in short, it is the very handmaid of slavery and calculated to perpetuate that anti-republican abomination.[5]

From time to time Lundy took notice of other publications in the anti-slavery field. Theodore Dwight Weld's *Slavery as it is or the Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses* was mentioned in the issue of June 28, a review of the book being reprinted from *Zion's Watchman*. Weld's compilation again received attention in the *Genius* of July 12. "Of the truth of these soul-chilling narrations we have not a shadow of doubt," Lundy wrote. "We have published many of them, heretofore in the columns of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*." Announcement was made in the issue of March 8 of the appearance of a collected edition of the works of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, who in the past had been not only a contributor to the *Genius* but for a time editor of a department of the paper. Commenting upon her writings, Lundy said: "This is one of the most popular anti-slavery books now extant. The amiable and highly gifted author ranked with the most celebrated poets of the nineteenth century." Several of Miss Chandler's hitherto unpublished poems

[5] *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, June 28, 1839.

were printed in the issue of July 5 as well as "Lines inscribed to E. M. Chandler" which had appeared in the Lisbon, Ohio, *Aurora*. In the issue of July 12 Lundy acknowledged the receipt of several numbers of a new anti-slavery paper, *The American Freeman*, published weekly by William Sullivan at Jackson, Michigan. A week later deep regret was expressed over the retirement of John G. Whittier from the *Pennsylvania Freeman*. Lundy wrote:

> It is with pain we learn from the last number of the *Pennsylvania Freeman* that the delicate health of our friend Whittier has compelled him to relinquish, in part, the editorship of that paper. . . . We have felt the more anxious that the *Freeman* should continue under the charge of John G. Whittier, as the publication was commenced by us (under a different name) and placed in his hands, as one in whom we had full confidence on our retirement.

From Whittier's valediction this passage was quoted in the *Genius:*

> Let the banner which the veteran Lundy first flung out upon the breezes of Pennsylvania, and which for the last eighteen months we have endeavored to sustain and defend, amidst trial and peril, still afford a rallying point to the friends of freedom; and still offer a signal hope to the weary bondmen in the cotton fields of the South.

Lundy's contributions to his newspaper were now near an end. In the issue of July 19 he made reference to the manumission of some slaves in North Carolina and added:

> We have not forgotten that it was our own good fortune, a few years since, to assist a pious gentlemen of that state in emancipating, and settling in a free country, eleven slaves which had been previously held by him. Neither have we forgotten that another worthy man, remaining in the same state, lost his life, soon after, in attempting to emancipate his, amounting to fifty or sixty in number. He, too, had made arrangements with the writer of this

article to assist him in his praiseworthy undertaking—but on his return home he was shot by one of his own relatives.

This was probably Lundy's last contribution to the *Genius*.

The next number mentioned his illness:

> The editor of this paper has been, for several days, quite unable to perform the duties of his office. His complaint (a light fever) has yielded, however, to the power of medicine; and he confidently hopes to be "in his element" again very shortly.

The succeeding number of the *Genius*, incorrectly dated August 16, reported his death from bilious fever on the night of August 22. The tribute to his memory, which was signed "The Printer," was simple but eloquent:

> It has become our painful duty to announce to the friends of humanity, and to the patrons of this paper, the melancholy intelligence of the death of Benjamin Lundy, long the faithful and persevering editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. This distinguished philanthropist closed his earthly career on the night of the 22nd of August, from the prevailing disease of the country, the bilious fever. He had been unable to attend to the duties of the office for two or three weeks previous, but no alarming appearances were observed by his friends until the day before his death.
>
> Thus is the world called upon to lament the departure of one whose life has been devoted to benevolence and humanity—one whose strength has been exhausted, and who has literally worn himself out in the cause of the oppressed and enslaved of our land, which, for eighteen years, has been the sole and engrossing object of his pursuit, and for which he had toiled unremittingly and persevered with unwavering constancy to his end. Thousands of hearts which already beat with thankfulness for his sympathy will bleed with anguish for his departure—and unnumbered millions of disenthralled beings, in the course of time, will look back with joy to his earthly pilgrimage, and hail with blessings the name of the pioneer in the cause of their emancipation. . . .
>
> Honor to his name and labors, and rest to his departed spirit. When those who are now called great on earth—heroes whose

course has been marked with blood and misery—shall perish from the memory of men and fade from the page of history, or be remembered in the lapse of time as the presiding spirits of the events of horror—then will his humble course of life be marked with beams of light imperishable—his unassuming spirit shall meet with its rich reward—and the fame of him who lived for others' good, whose glory was not in the battlefield, but whose empire was the human heart, shall be crowned with an unfading wreath by a world redeemed from bondage.

In the same issue in which this tribute appeared it was announced that arrangements had been made to continue the publication of the *Genius* "under the superintendence of an Editor specially appointed" until the anniversary meeting of the state anti-slavery society. At that time it was expected that measures would be taken for the permanent establishment of an anti-slavery paper for the state. Announcement was also made that at the approaching annual meeting of the La Salle County Anti-slavery Society an oration on Lundy's career would be delivered by the Reverend J. H. Dickey.

The *Genius* of August 30 quoted extensively from a sketch of Lundy which had appeared in *The Friend of Man*. The writer recalled meeting Lundy in Providence in 1828 on the occasion of his visit to New England. "We attended a number of consultations of friends on the subject while he was with us." From this sketch we learn the manner in which Lundy, while on his journeys, sometimes published the *Genius* and sent it to the subscribers. It was his custom to utilize the local printing offices, wherever he might be, though all such numbers might carry a Philadelphia date line. Again quoting *The Friend of Man:*

Our printer helped him to get out one number in New York.

His next was perhaps issued from Hudson, and the next from Rochester and so on. He carried his "column rules," "imprint," "heading," etc., in his trunk along with his "mail and direction book"—and so with the help of the local printers, all over the state, he furnished his old subscribers, while getting new ones.

This writer continued:

Soon after, he went to Texas and Mexico, in search of an asylum for the oppressed of our Republic. The best results of these missions (for he went twice or thrice, and was once or twice near dying with the cholera) was the information respecting the plottings of the Southern slave-holders to conquer Mexico, and the actual beginning of this enterprise in the so-called revolt of Texas by American arms, etc. etc. This information he first gave to the public in the *Philadelphia Gazette*, next in a pamphlet, and afterwards in the *National Enquirer*, which he commenced mainly for that purpose in Philadelphia. It was, we believe, chiefly from Benjamin Lundy that John Quincy Adams obtained that minute knowledge of Mexican and Texan affairs with which he so eloquently and opportunely astonished Congress and the nation in the spring of 1836. Had it not been for Benjamin Lundy there can be little doubt that Texas would have been annexed to the United States ere this. Having relinquished the *National Enquirer* to the Pennsylvania State Anti-slavery Society, and J. G. Whittier, he pushed for Illinois, where his *Genius* now makes its appearance again—volume the sixteenth. . . . No living man has done more for the slave and the cause of the colored man, generally, than Benjamin Lundy; and no living man possesses talents and skill better adapted to the regions of the west than he.[6]

The final number of the *Genius*, that of September 13, reported the recent meeting of the LaSalle County Anti-slavery Society. At this meeting a committee had been appointed to draft a resolution expressing the high regard for Lundy's labors and a resolution had been passed urging that measures be taken to continue the *Genius* under such name as the state society might deem best.[7] The Reverend Mr. Dickey made the

[6] This tribute had apparently been written before Lundy's death was known.

[7] The *Genius of Liberty*, successor to the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, was

promised oration on Lundy and was requested to put it in written form for publication in a future number of the *Genius*.

This was the final chapter in the record of Lundy's newspaper. It was the twelfth Illinois issue and it bore the whole number 316. The first number had appeared at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, in July, 1821, and thereafter the *Genius* had been published in Tennessee, Maryland, the District of Columbia, Pennsylvania and finally in Illinois. Sometimes it was a monthly, sometimes it was a weekly, sometimes it appeared in both forms. There were frequent lapses in publication, due to Lundy's frequent absences or for other causes. Yet, as the prospectus of the last volume declared:

> During the whole of this period, the principles maintained, the measures proposed, and the prime objects of the publication have been the same. There has been no change of opinion on the part of the editor—no alteration in the general course pursued by him—and none is contemplated. . . . Its principal design has ever been, and will continue to be, the advocacy of free discussion, the total abolition of slavery, and the firm establishment of the constitutional, unalienable and universal rights of man.

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published by Zebina Eastman and Hooper Warren at Lowell between December 19, 1840, and April, 1842. Beginning July, 1841, it became the organ of the Illinois Anti-slavery Society. The paper suspended publication in April, 1842, but was revived three months later in Chicago as the *Western Citizen*, a temperance and anti-slavery paper and the organ of the Liberty Party in Illinois. See Scott, *Newspapers of Illinois*, 55, 229.

# MARY HARTWELL CATHERWOOD

## A Bibliography

BY ROBERT PRICE

MRS. Mary (Hartwell) Catherwood, one of the most widely recognized writers of historical fiction during the great popularity of that genre in America just at the close of the nineteenth century, was a resident of Illinois throughout a large portion of her life. Born in Luray, Ohio, December 16, 1847, she moved with her family to Milford, Illinois, in 1856. Although she was taken back to Ohio after the death of her parents within the next two years and grew up with grandparents in Hebron, Licking County, she returned to Illinois after her graduation from the Granville (Ohio) Female College in 1868, to teach in the public schools of Danville. In 1877 she married James Steele Catherwood of Hoopeston. They lived for a time in Fairfield and Indianapolis, Indiana, but in 1882 settled in Hoopeston, which with Chicago remained Mrs. Catherwood's home for the rest of her life. She died in Chicago, December 26, 1902, and is buried in Floral Hill Cemetery, Hoopeston.

Mrs. Catherwood's first widely popular novel, *The Romance of Dollard* (1888) prompted Francis Parkman to hail the author as "a pioneer in what may be called a new departure in American fiction," viz., in the field of historical romance with the old French regime

of Canada, the Lakes, and the Mississippi Valley as sources of inspiration. Throughout a long series of novels and stories, culminating in the best-seller, *Lazarre* (1901), Mrs. Catherwood continued pre-eminent in this particular realm of romance. Today, most of the novels are of interest chiefly because of their place in the literary progress of a period. On the other hand, the short stories continue to be reprinted and read as the best work of the sort ever done in their peculiar areas of local color. Many of the novels and stories are concerned with Illinois.

The only published biographical study of Mrs. Catherwood is that of M. L. Wilson, *Biography of Mary Hartwell Catherwood* (Newark, Ohio, 1904). An adequate account of Mrs. Catherwood's life and work remains to be written. Her bibliography has never before been printed:

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Most of Mrs. Catherwood's writing previous to 1875 cannot be traced today. Her first published items were news "locals" and poems submitted to the Newark (Ohio) *American* in 1863 when she was sixteen years old. One of the poems of that year, entitled "Pocahontas," was sent by the editor of the *American*, M. L. Wilson, to a children's magazine in Philadelphia where it was accepted. Another poem, "The Broken Hearted," appeared in *The Voice*, published by Mr. Wilson in December, 1863. Three other known poems are "To Ira Marsh of Company H, 31st O.V.I., who was Killed at the Battle of Resaca, Georgia," in the Newark *American* of July 8, 1864; "Rebuked" written in 1867, and "My Secret" of about the same time, reprinted in

Mr. Wilson's *Biography of Mary H. Catherwood* (1904), original place of publication not known.

Mrs. Catherwood's first published story, "The Hospital Nurse," appeared in the *American*, March 25, 1864. By 1870 she seems to have been writing fluently and finding a market in numerous publications, chiefly juvenile. Much of this output was published unsigned or under pseudonyms. She is known to have won a short story prize from *Wood's Household Magazine*. At least one short serial ran in *Leslie's Weekly*. Other material that has not been identified appeared in *Youth's Companion*, *Golden Hours*, *Wide Awake*, *Harper's Bazaar*, *Outing*, *Independent*, *Delineator*, *Chicago Tribune*, and *Chicago Graphic*.

1874

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1875

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1876

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1880

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1881

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1882

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1883

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1884

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1885

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1886

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1887

"The Secrets at Roseladies" (juvenile), *Wide Awake*, 1887.

1888

"The Romance of Dollard" (serial), *Century Magazine*, 37:81-95, 261-75, 344-57, 528-40, Nov., Dec., Jan., Feb., 1888-1889; (introduction by Francis Parkman).

1889

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1890

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1891

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1894

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"The Mill at Petit Gap"
"Wolfe's Cove"
"The Windigo"
"The Kidnapped Bride"
"Pontiac's Lookout"

1896

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1897

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1898

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"Serena"
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1900

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1901

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1902

*For Tippecanoe*, another historical novel, was in progress at the time of Mrs. Catherwood's death. Three chapters in manuscript have been preserved by the family.

"The Queen Bee," Mrs. Catherwood's last story, based upon the assassination of President McKinley, was never published, but it is preserved in manuscript.

# ILLINOIS IN 1939

BY MILDRED EVERSOLE

JANUARY 4

The sixty-first session of the Illinois General Assembly convenes in Springfield. George M. Maypole of Chicago is chosen President pro tempore of the Senate and Hugh W. Cross of Jerseyville is elected Speaker of the House. The former takes the place of Lieutenant Governor Stelle who is Acting Governor during Governor Horner's absence from the state. The Governor is in Florida recovering from an illness contracted in November, 1938.

JANUARY 5

The Illinois River at Havana is at the lowest level noted during the twenty-five years in which records have been kept. The present stage is 5.25 feet.

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Dr. Hugh T. Patrick, emeritus professor of nervous and mental diseases at Northwestern University, dies at the age of seventy-eight. He was the author of numerous articles published in scientific journals.

JANUARY 9

Inaugural ceremonies are held for Louie E. Lewis, state treasurer, and John A. Wieland, superintendent of public instruction. Following the exercises, the Governor's message is read to the sixty-first General Assembly.

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The title of "corn king" of Illinois goes to Richmond

Robinson, Delavan, with the award of first place in the ten-acre yield contest held in connection with Farm and Home Week at the University of Illinois.

JANUARY 10

Baylis L. Barber, member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1920 to 1924, dies at his home in Springfield.

JANUARY 11

George Eaton Scott of Chicago, president of American Steel Foundries, dies at the age of sixty-five.

JANUARY 15

Fire sweeps through three large buildings at Chanute Field, Rantoul, the midwest training station of the United States army air corps. The loss in supplies alone is estimated at more than a million dollars; these include airplanes, flying equipment, machinery, clothing, and engineering devices.

JANUARY 17

The United States circuit court of appeals confirms the conviction of thirty-four miners for conspiring to bomb mines and trains in the Illinois coal fields several years ago. However, the penalties imposed on the defendants on December 28, 1937 are cut in half. Under this ruling each man will serve two years and pay a fine of $10,000.

JANUARY 18

Acting Governor Stelle lays the proposed biennial budget before the Illinois General Assembly.

JANUARY 21

William Hodge, ninety year old Civil War veteran, dies at his home in Decatur. He had been Illinois Commander of the Grand Army of the Republic twice and was nine times commander of the Decatur post.

JANUARY 28

Robert C. Lanphier, Sr., sixty-one year old founder and president of the Sangamo Electric Company at Springfield, dies at his home in that city.

JANUARY 30

A severe blizzard sweeps over most of the state. In Chicago the weather bureau records a 14.8 inch snowfall in fourteen and a half hours. Schools are closed there, three elevated railroad wrecks occur, and all transportation facilities are either disrupted or abandoned. Many highways in the state are closed to traffic. Springfield reports a snowfall of 8.6 inches, the biggest recorded in twenty-four years.

JANUARY 31

Relief bills passed by the Legislature are signed by Acting Governor Stelle. Provision is made for the extension of the sales tax at the rate of three per cent to July 1 and for the appropriation of $3,900,000 monthly from that source for relief purposes until May 1 and $2,000,000 monthly during May and June.

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The month of January has been one of the warmest experienced in Illinois in the past fifty years. The mean temperature for the month was 34.5 degrees, 6.6 degrees above normal.

FEBRUARY 2

Ross C. Hall, Illinois Appellate Court justice since 1932, dies at his home in Oak Park at the age of seventy-three. He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives in 1897-1898.

FEBRUARY 9

Dr. Noble Murray Eberhart dies at his home in Chicago

at the age of sixty-nine. He was widely known for his work in the field of X ray and was the author of numerous articles on the subject.

February 12

Abraham Lincoln's birthday is observed throughout state and nation. In Springfield the American Legion holds its annual pilgrimage to Lincoln's Tomb, and the Abraham Lincoln Association sponsors a public meeting.

February 13

Numerous cases of influenza are reported throughout the state. In many places schools are closed and public meetings are prohibited.

February 15

Charles Richard Crane, manufacturer and diplomat who formerly lived in Chicago, dies in Palm Springs, California, at the age of eighty. He was formerly president of the Crane Manufacturing Company, Chicago, and in 1920-1921 served as American minister to China.

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Dr. Edward Benes, former president of Czechoslovakia, arrives in Chicago to assume his new duties as visiting professor at the University of Chicago.

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The "flu" epidemic continues in various parts of the state. In Chicago, where the schools are still open, it is estimated that about one-sixth of the enrolled pupils are absent because of illness. In Champaign and Urbana all hospitals are filled and emergency hospitals have been set up.

February 18

Kellogg Fairbank dies at his home in Chicago at the

age of sixty-nine. He was widely known as an attorney and civic leader.

FEBRUARY 22

The Illinois Supreme Court upholds the constitutionality of the minimum wage act for firemen and policemen. According to the provisions of the law, cities with a population over 25,000 are required to pay firemen and policemen minimum salaries of $175, and cities numbering 10,000 to 25,000 population have to pay a minimum of $150.

FEBRUARY 28

Chicago primary elections are held. Mayor Edward J. Kelly is renominated for that office by the Democratic Party. Dwight H. Green wins the Republican nomination.

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Illinois has a balance of $201,229,233.27 at the end of the month of February. This is the largest balance in the state's history.

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Oil production in Illinois in the first two months of 1939 has exceeded by 1,000,000 barrels the state's total production during 1937 and equalled thirty-six per cent of the total 1938 figure. The output of 8,576,000 barrels for January and February, 1939, places Illinois fifth nationally in production. There are now 2,600 producing wells in the state.

MARCH 3

Tracy C. Drake, former president of the Drake and Blackstone hotels, Chicago, dies at his home in Laguna Beach, California, at the age of seventy-four.

March 4

The city of Chicago observes its one hundred and second birthday. When the village government was replaced by a city charter providing for the election of a mayor and other officials on March 4, 1837, the total population was 4,170 and the area 10 square miles. The present population is approximately 3,677,600 and the area 211 square miles.

March 8

Samuel T. Bledsoe, chairman and president of the Santa Fe Railway Company, dies in Chicago at the age of seventy.

March 11

A heavy downpour of rain sets in in many parts of Illinois. Springfield reports that three inches have fallen in the last twenty-four hours. Many highways in the central part of the state are made impassable by the high water. Three hundred residents of Campbell's Island, in the Mississippi River off Moline, are marooned by mud at the approaches to a new bridge.

March 12

Continuous heavy rainfall sends many creeks out of their banks, floods basements and streets, and blocks highways of central Illinois. The Illinois River is at flood stage at Beardstown. At Villa Grove the Embarrass River overflows its banks and floods many homes. In Danville approximately one hundred homes are flooded. In Chicago and suburbs a sleet storm makes driving extremely hazardous.

March 13

Flood damages mount in Illinois. In Danville seven hundred and fifty persons have been driven from their homes and damage is estimated at $250,000. In Sangamon,

Christian, and Macon counties, nearly twenty thousand acres of rich bottom land are flooded. Beardstown and Lincoln report extensive flood damages. At Shawneetown the water is a foot or more deep over many streets and a number of families are moving to the heights at the new Shawneetown.

MARCH 14

Dr. Frank Parsons Norbury, founder of the Norbury sanitarium in Jacksonville, dies at the age of seventy-five.

MARCH 16

The Illinois River continues to rise. At Beardstown it has climbed from 17 to 18.2 feet in the last twenty-four hours and is still rising. The Sangamon River has also been on the rampage during the last few days.

MARCH 17

Pinball machines are illegal in Illinois and subject to seizure and destruction, according to an opinion expressed by Attorney General Cassidy. He declares that they are in the same class as slot machines and endanger the public welfare.

MARCH 18

The Wabash River continues to rise at Mt. Carmel where it has already forced a number of families to vacate their homes. Recent rains have caused a rise of one foot in the last twenty-four hours.

MARCH 21

A gift of $6,735,000 to Northwestern University to found an Institute of Technology on the Evanston campus is announced by President Walter Dill Scott. This sum, which includes appropriations for building and equipment as well as for operating and scholarship funds, is donated by the Walter P. Murphy Foundation

of Chicago, established several years ago by Walter P. Murphy as a charitable corporation.

March 26

Brigadier General Richings J. Shand of Springfield dies at the age of seventy-one. He was identified with the Illinois National Guard for over fifty years and had been assistant adjutant general of Illinois since 1910.

April 2

George F. Harding, seventy year old Republican national committeeman from Illinois, dies at his home in Chicago. He held city and county positions in Chicago and Cook County for many years and served one term as a member of the Illinois House of Representatives.

April 4

Edward J. Kelly is re-elected mayor of Chicago by a margin of 183,410 votes.

April 5

Walter L. Ross, a native of Bloomington, dies in Phoenix, Arizona at the age of seventy-four. He retired as president of the Nickel Plate Railroad in 1933 but he was still a director at the time of his death.

April 6

Filing of the will of the late George F. Harding of Chicago discloses the fact that he left the bulk of his $1,000,000 fortune for the perpetuation and maintenance of his art and historical museum which is housed in a building adjoining his home in Chicago. The collection is especially noted for its display of ancient arms and armor.

April 9

James Hamilton Lewis, Chicago, dies in Washington, D. C. at the age of seventy-four. He was a United States

Senator from Illinois from 1913 to 1919, and from 1931 until his death.

April 10

Governor Henry Horner, who has been in Miami Beach, Florida since November, 1938 recovering from a serious illness, returns to Springfield.

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B. F. Baker of Kewanee, member of the Illinois Senate from 1906 to 1910, dies at the age of seventy-four.

April 11

Marion, Illinois is chosen as the site of the new veterans' hospital to be erected by the United States at a cost of $1,400,000. Plans call for a 500 bed structure with provision for enlargement when necessary.

April 12

Purchase of 4,400 acres of timber and barren land near Forest City in Mason County is announced by the State of Illinois. This area will be stocked with game and hunting will be prohibited. Two million trees will be planted, roads will be improved, and various recreational attractions will be provided.

April 14

James M. Slattery of Chicago, chairman of the Illinois Commerce Commission, is named by Governor Horner as United States Senator to fill the vacancy caused by the death of James Hamilton Lewis. He will serve until November, 1940, when a successor will be elected for the remaining two years of Senator Lewis' term.

April 17

The Ohio River is nearing flood stage at Metropolis, Rosiclare, and Shawneetown. Wabash County is partly flooded by the Wabash River.

Dr. Henry Schmitz dies at his home in Chicago at the age of sixty-seven. He had been the Head of the Department of Gynecology and Obstetrics at Loyola University School of Medicine since 1917.

April 19

Tribute to Mary Todd Lincoln's contribution to the success of her husband is made at a special meeting in the Hall of the Illinois House of Representatives. Mrs. Lottie Holman O'Neill, member of the House, is also honored on this occasion because she was the first woman to sit in the Illinois Legislature (she was first elected in 1922). Members of the General Assembly, state officials, Springfield octogenarians who knew Lincoln, and many others participate in the program.

April 20

Sandbag crews are reinforcing the levees at Kaskaskia Island and other points along the Mississippi River. The river is now three feet above flood stage. Many farmers have moved to higher ground.

April 23

Crown Prince Frederick and Crown Princess Ingrid of Denmark arrive in Chicago. The royal couple, accompanied by an entourage of eleven people, will spend three days in the city.

April 25

Dr. William E. Morgan, pioneer in the teaching of operative surgery in the Middle West, dies in Chicago. During his career he taught at the Chicago Medical College and its successor, the Northwestern University Medical School, and at Loyola University. He retired in 1929.

April 27

Fred A. Reavill, state representative from Flat Rock

since 1934, dies at the age of fifty-one.

APRIL 30

Stephen A. Douglas, a grandson of the Illinois senator of the same name, dies in Santa Barbara, California at the age of seventy-eight.

MAY 1

The Illinois Building at the New York World's Fair is dedicated. It was erected at a cost of $775,000.

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Two new appointments are submitted by the Governor to the Illinois Senate for approval: Dr. A. C. Baxter as Director of the State Department of Health (he has been Acting Director since the resignation of Dr. Frank J. Jirka several months ago); and William W. Hart as a member of the Illinois Commerce Commission to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Harry Barr in 1937. Mr. Hart has been Secretary of the Commission.

MAY 4

Crown Prince Olav and Princess Martha of Norway, accompanied by a retinue of eighteen persons, arrive in Chicago for a three-day visit.

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Illinois members of the United Mine Workers of America—25,000 in number—quit work at the end of the day. The strike, which is to last until a settlement is reached in the Appalachian wage contract dispute, is affecting 126,000 men in various parts of the United States.

MAY 7

Death claims William M. Morrison, great-great-grandson of Pierre Menard, first lieutenant governor of Illinois. Remains will be buried on Kaskaskia Island, the ancestral home of the family since 1790.

MAY 9

The cornerstone of the new $1,200,000 Illinois neuropschiatric institute building is laid in Chicago. The building is being erected by the state welfare department.

MAY 11

A great conflagration on the south side of Chicago destroys five huge grain elevators and causes the deaths of eight persons and serious injuries of fourteen. Thirteen missing are also included in the toll. It is estimated that there were 500,000 bushels of wheat and 2,000,000 bushels of corn destroyed in the conflagration, apparently started by a grain dust explosion. The sudden rise in the price of wheat and corn on the Chicago Board of Trade is attributed to the loss of such large quantities of grain.

MAY 12

The fortieth annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society opens with a luncheon in Quincy. Dr. H. Gary Hudson, president of Illinois College, is the principal speaker. At the afternoon session, papers are presented by Marcy Bodine, William J. Petersen, Mary E. Dillon, and Lynn W. Turner. The annual dinner of the Society follows in the evening. On this occasion, Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, and Mrs. A. O. Howd of Quincy are on the program.

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The death list of the fire which destroyed five large grain elevators in Chicago on May 11 mounts to nine as another victim dies of severe burns. The total property damage is estimated at $4,000,000.

Governor Horner signs bills recently passed by the Legislature providing for $4,500,000 to be used for emergency relief during May and June, and making women eligible for jury service after July 1.

MAY 13

Members of the Illinois State Historical Society, convening in Quincy for their annual meeting, leave that city for an expedition to Carthage and Nauvoo. Under the leadership of Lane K. Newberry the Old Jail at Carthage and other historic sites are visited.

MAY 15

Twenty-five thousand United Mine Workers in Illinois, out since May 4, return to the mines after an agreement is reached extending their old contract for two years.

MAY 16

In a special message Governor Horner warns the General Assembly of Illinois to halt its "spending orgy," voicing his fear that the state will become insolvent.

MAY 18

Charles F. Hurburgh, formerly a resident of Galesburg and more recently of Chicago, dies at the age of sixty-two. He was a member of the Illinois Senate from 1906 to 1914.

MAY 26

Dr. Charles H. Mayo, world renowned surgeon and co-founder of the Mayo clinic at Rochester, Minnesota, dies in Chicago at the age of seventy-three. He was stricken with pneumonia while passing through the city.

MAY 30

The world premiere of the motion picture, "Young Mr. Lincoln," is held at the Fox-Lincoln Theater in Springfield. Hollywood stars and executives, as well as public-

ity and newspaper men from various parts of the country, are special guests.

MAY 31

Patrick J. Breen of Paris dies at the age of seventy-seven. With the exception of two years, he was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives continuously from 1916 to 1938.

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John Wylie of Ottawa, who had served five terms as a member of the Illinois House of Representatives, dies at the age of eighty-three.

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The oil production of Illinois during May has exceeded that for any month in the state's history. Of the 319 new wells completed during the month, 261 were producers. The production for the first five months of 1939 has amounted to 26,247,000 barrels.

JUNE 5

Elections for circuit judges are held in seventeen districts of the state. Thirty Republicans and fifty-one Democrats are named for office.

JUNE 6

Francis S. Wilson, Chicago, becomes the new chief justice of the Illinois Supreme Court. The sixty-seven year old justice succeeds Chief Justice Elwyn R. Shaw of Freeport according to the rotation system which provides for a new chief justice every year.

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The seventy-third annual Illinois encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic convenes at Jacksonville. Twelve Civil War veterans are in attendance.

A portrait of the Honorable John P. Devine, former Speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives, is hung in the office of the Speaker. The artist was Violet Beatrice Wenner of Chicago.

JUNE 7

A statue of the late David E. Shanahan, Speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives for six sessions, is unveiled on the second floor of the Rotunda of the Statehouse. The statue is the work of Frederick C. Hibbard.

JUNE 10

Heavy wind and rain storms strike various parts of Illinois. Jacksonville suffers a rain of cloudburst proportions and a severe electrical storm, with damages estimated at $100,000. Champaign reports a rainfall of 3.1 inches in less than an hour's time, causing an almost complete blockade of highways leading out of the city. In Momence and Kankakee many trees are uprooted and electric light and telephone wires are down. The Chicago area estimates that thousands of dollars worth of damage has been done by the wind and electrical storms. At Carmi the high school is unroofed by the high wind, many power and telephone wires are down, and several buildings are twisted from their foundations.

JUNE 12

The University of Illinois graduates the largest class in the history of the institution. A total of 1,969 seniors and 348 graduate students are awarded degrees in Champaign. In addition, more than 200 degrees were awarded by the Colleges of Medicine, Pharmacy, and Dentistry, which are located in Chicago, on June 9.

JUNE 14

Mrs. Hugh T. Morrison, a leader in the civic and religious life of Springfield, dies at the age of fifty-nine.

She was the granddaughter of Stephen T. Logan, law partner of Abraham Lincoln.

JUNE 19

A tornado roars through Delavan, uprooting trees, unroofing houses, and tearing down numerous wires and poles in an area four blocks wide. Damages are estimated at $50,000. Pittsfield and surrounding area in Pike County also experience a severe wind and rain storm.

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Miss Grace Abbott, social worker, dies at the age of sixty. She was Chief of the United States Children's Bureau from 1921 to 1934 and since 1934 had been professor of public welfare at the University of Chicago.

JUNE 21

The Lake Centralia-Salem oil pool of Marion County is one year old. In this time it has become the largest producing pool in Illinois, having nearly 1,000 wells. It covers about 10,000 acres. Only recently a new well in this field, the McBride, Inc., No. 8, N. Lee, flowed 5,590 barrels of oil in twenty-four hours to become the field's second largest producer.

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A life-size statue of Abraham Lincoln is dedicated in Lincoln. It is placed on the first floor of the courthouse in that city by its donors, the local Rotary and Kiwanis clubs.

JUNE 22

Crown Prince Olav and Crown Princess Martha of Norway are again visitors in Chicago. They are entertained by the Norwegian Glee Club at their fiftieth anniversary concert.

JUNE 23
Crown Prince Olav of Norway visits Springfield. He places a wreath at the Tomb of Abraham Lincoln in Oak Ridge Cemetery and addresses a joint session of the two houses of the Illinois Legislature.

JUNE 24
The one hundredth anniversary of the founding of Nauvoo is observed. A caravan visit to the old Mormon homes is made and this is followed by a pageant and festival.

JUNE 25
Centennial services are held in Nauvoo on the site of the old Temple and later in the day memorial services for Joseph and Hyrum Smith are held at the Old Jail in Carthage.

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The new museum at Black Hawk State Park, Rock Island, is dedicated by the state. The stone and log structure contains Indian relics which were assembled by John H. Hauberg of Rock Island.

JUNE 28
Harry Leon Wilson, for many years one of the foremost American writers of humorous fiction, dies at Monterey, California. He was the author of *Ruggles of Red Gap* and co-author with Booth Tarkington of the play, *The Man from Home*. He was born in Oregon, Illinois seventy-two years ago.

JUNE 29
Archibald MacLeish, of Glencoe, is made Librarian of Congress. Previously nominated by the President for that office, his appointment is confirmed by the United States Senate.

The Governor signs the two bills extending the retail sales and utility tax in Illinois at the rate of three per cent until July 1, 1941. The law becomes effective at midnight on June 30.

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Jimmy Snyder, nationally known automobile racing driver formerly of Chicago, is killed in a midget auto race at Cahokia. He finished second in this year's Memorial Day races at Indianapolis.

JUNE 30

James H. Paddock, secretary of the Illinois Senate for some forty years, dies in Havana at the age of eighty-nine.

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The Governor signs bills appropriating $72,000,000 for relief and providing $52,000,000 for old age pensions. The measure extending the life of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission for two years is also signed.

JULY 1

The sixty-first Illinois General Assembly adjourns sine die with intermittent discharges of firecrackers frequently interrupting business during the final meeting. Clocks were stopped at 6:30 P.M. on the preceding day to permit business to be completed before the constitutional hour of adjournment was reached. A total of 474 bills have been passed during the session, 344 of them during the final week.

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The state's biggest producing well was brought in during the past week. The record-breaking producer was the W. C. McBride, Inc., No. 10 Lee, three and a half miles from Salem in the Lake Centralia-Salem

pool of Marion County. It produced 7,344 barrels of oil from the McCloskey lime in the initial twenty-four hours.

JULY 3

Amy Leslie (Mrs. Lillie West Brownbeck) dies at her home in Chicago. As Lillie West she took leading roles in many Gilbert and Sullivan operettas previous to 1890 and after that date was dramatic critic on the *Chicago Daily News* for some forty years. Her articles were signed "Amy Leslie."

JULY 4

In Waukegan a wooden stand crowded with spectators at a pageant and fireworks show collapses. Three thousand persons are thrown to the ground, more than seventy of them suffering injuries.

JULY 11

Over twenty-seven thousand W.P.A. workers in Illinois go on strike in protest against the new 130 hour work rule instituted by the federal government. Most of those taking part in the walkout are in the southwestern part of the state. A total of 177,345 persons are employed by the Works Progress Administration in Illinois.

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Governor Horner signs a number of bills passed by the General Assembly during its recent session: one creating an Illinois Development Council and appropriating $250,000 to be spent in publicizing the industrial and recreational facilities of Illinois; a series of bills requiring future applicants for state professional and tradesmen's licenses to be United States citizens, or applicants for citizenship; and two bills creating a division devoted exclusively to the prevention of delinquency.

JULY 14
The Governor allows the pegged levy bills for the Chicago Park District and Sanitary District to become laws without his signature.

JULY 15
The week just ended has been marked by the completion of the state's second largest oil producer—Magnolia's No. 9 J. R. Young which flowed 6,115 barrels in twenty-four hours.

JULY 16
James Weber Linn, writer, professor, and member of the Illinois House of Representatives, dies at his summer home near Lakeside, Michigan at the age of sixty-three. He had been a member of the University of Chicago faculty in the English Department since he was twenty-two years old. At the time of his death he was serving his first term as a member of the Illinois General Assembly.

JULY 18
Edmund Heller, native of Freeport, dies at his home in San Francisco at the age of sixty-four. An internationally known naturalist, he participated in numerous explorations in foreign lands before he became Director of the Fleishacker Zoo in San Francisco in 1935.

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J. Louis Comiskey, owner and president of the Chicago White Sox, dies at his summer home near Eagle River, Wisconsin. He was fifty-three years old.

JULY 19
Corn futures on the Chicago Board of Trade break to the lowest levels reached since April, 1934. July con-

tracts sell at .42⅝. The low prices reflect prospects for a big crop this year because of the large acreage planted with hybrid seed. At the same time hogs at the Chicago Stockyards sell at an average price of $5.85 per 100 pounds, the lowest average in the last five years.

JULY 20

Roscoe S. Chapman, one of the founders of the *Rockford Morning Star* fifty-one years ago, dies at Miami Beach, Florida.

JULY 21

Governor Horner vetoes the bill creating a pension system for state employees because of a question over its constitutionality.

JULY 22

Two of the $60,000,000 superhighway bills for Chicago and Cook County become law without the Governor's signature. The program authorizes the sale of bonds up to a total of $60,000,000 to be retired over the next twenty years from Chicago and Cook County gasoline taxes. The Governor signs the bill increasing the mutuel take from betting at Illinois horse-racing tracks from 6½ to 7½ per cent.

JULY 24

Governor Horner signs bills providing for the construction of a new $250,000 home for young criminals and for changes in the existing St. Charles School for Boys.

JULY 25

The Vacco bills providing for lotteries to finance slum clearance and housing projects in Chicago are vetoed by Governor Horner because they are believed to violate the Constitution. A bill making Illinois the first state

to create a division devoted exclusively to the prevention of delinquency is signed by the Governor.

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Corn prices quoted on the Chicago Board of Trade reach the lowest level since October, 1933. At country elevators in central Illinois, farmers are offered as low as .30 a bushel on No. 2 corn.

JULY 26

Governor Horner signs the tax preadjudication bill, designed to give all Cook County taxpayers equal benefits from tax reductions approved by the circuit court. He also approves the series of bills providing for the regulation of the trucking industry. Measures allowed to become law without the Governor's signature are one increasing the period of residence in Illinois from one year to three years before a person is eligible to secure relief aid, and the third and final bill providing for Chicago's superhighway system. Other measures relating to the latter subject became law last week.

JULY 27

Governor Horner leaves the state capital for a two-month stay in a private home in Highland Park. He is convalescing from a long illness.

JULY 29

The pension bill permitting downstate municipal employees to retire after twenty years' service becomes law without the Governor's signature.

JULY 31

Oil production in the state is increasing to such an extent that the monthly output has almost doubled during the last six months. In January of this year

the production was 4,446,000 barrels, in July, 8,413,000 barrels. Marion County leads all other counties with ninety-nine new producers this month.

AUGUST 1

Humphrey and Hunter Moody, of Decatur, surpass the endurance record of 218 hours, 43 minutes for light planes. They have been flying over or near Springfield for more than 228 hours, refueling from a truck on the ground.

AUGUST 4

Circuit Judge John J. Caverly of Chicago dies in Bermuda. He was seventy-eight years old.

AUGUST 5

William A. Patterson, nationally known artist of Springfield and Chicago, dies at the age of seventy-four. He was especially noted for his paintings of Abraham Lincoln. A group of his miniatures of Lincoln and one of Mrs. Lincoln are on display in the Lincoln room of the Illinois State Historical Library in Springfield.

AUGUST 6

After establishing a new world endurance record for light planes after fourteen days in the air, Hunter and Humphrey Moody are forced to land at Springfield because of a severe storm.

AUGUST 9

John Broderick of Chicago dies at the age of seventy-three. He was serving his eighth term as a member of the Illinois Senate, having been first elected to that body in 1898.

AUGUST 12

The eighty-seventh annual Illinois State Fair opens in Springfield. The new junior department home eco-

nomics and livestock buildings are dedicated on the opening day.

AUGUST 18

Walter Taylor Field, author and editor, dies at his home in Hinsdale at the age of seventy-eight. He was the author of numerous textbooks for children and since 1890 had been associated with Ginn and Company, publishers. He was born in Galesburg.

AUGUST 21

A fifty-three year old man, frozen into unconsciousness for five days and nights at St. John's Hospital in Springfield, is restored to "life." The patient, Jack Lum, faced with almost certain death from cancer, is the third person in this country to undergo the frozen sleep experiment.

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Dr. Paul J. Raver resigns the chairmanship of the Illinois Commerce Commission to accept a federal appointment as administrator of the Bonneville dam project.

AUGUST 23

Harry C. Baker, fifty-two year old native of Kewanee, dies in Larchmont, New York. Entering the outdoor amusement park business in Chicago some thirty years ago, he devoted his life to the development of such parks and the invention of fun rides and other merry-making devices. He was largely responsible for the modern version of the roller coaster.

AUGUST 24

General Carlos E. Black retires as Adjutant General of Illinois. He is succeeded by Lieutenant Colonel Lawrence V. Regan, Administrative Auditor for the past year.

An oil boom sweeps the village of Keensburg in Wabash County, as the result of the discovery of oil two weeks ago on a farm just north of town. Back yards, roadways, and even the cemetery and Methodist churchyard are dotted with derricks.

AUGUST 25

Frederic Woodward, vice-president and dean of the faculties at the University of Chicago since 1926, retires from active service after forty-two years spent in educational pursuits.

AUGUST 26

Illinois Day is celebrated at the New York World's Fair. Attorney General John E. Cassidy and Colonel A. F. Lorenzen, chairman of the Illinois Fair Commission, head the delegation of Illinois visitors.

AUGUST 27

The *Chicago Herald and Examiner*, morning newspaper, suspends publication and will be merged with the *Evening American* under title of *Chicago Herald-American*, published as an afternoon paper.

AUGUST 29

Contracts are signed for completing the restoration of the Vandalia Statehouse at a cost of $32,897. The original building is over a hundred years old.

AUGUST 30

A typhoid fever epidemic at Manteno State Hospital has caused the deaths of four people and illness of about one hundred and eighty others. The institution has been under quarantine for ten days.

AUGUST 31

The new $583,000 bridge spanning the Illinois River at Lacon is dedicated. It replaces a structure built in 1881.

Harvey Z. O'Hair of Bushton dies at the age of seventy-five. He was widely known as a grower and exporter of corn and broomcorn seed. He served in the fifty-fifth, fifty-sixth, and fifty-eighth general assemblies of Illinois.

SEPTEMBER 1

Grain prices on the Chicago Board of Trade soar .03 to .08 per bushel in the wildest markets since early in the first World War. The Board of Trade and other exchanges are deluged with buying orders.

SEPTEMBER 6

Directors of the Chicago Board of Trade decide to double the range within which prices of grain may fluctuate in one day, thus permitting wheat and rye to rise or fall .10 a bushel from the closing prices of the preceding day, corn and soy beans .08, and oats .06. This action is taken in an effort to break the deadlock in the futures market which at times has brought trading almost to a standstill. At the Chicago stockyards on this date, a sharp advance in hogs brings the highest prices within the past year. Top loads soar to $9.40 per 100 pounds, an advance of $1.40 over the peak of the preceding day.

SEPTEMBER 7

The heat wave which has covered most of Illinois during the first week of the present month reaches an all-time peak for September in many parts of the state on this date. In Chicago a temperature of 100 degrees is officially recorded, making it the hottest day experienced there since July 10, 1936 when 102 degrees was reached.

SEPTEMBER 13

William W. Hart, Springfield, is named acting chair-

man of the Illinois Commerce Commission. He succeeds Paul J. Raver, resigned.

SEPTEMBER 14

The hot weather continues, with new peaks reported in many places. In Chicago, with the thermometer registering 99.2 degrees, heat records for the date are broken the fourth time within the last fourteen days. Many schools are closed while others will operate on a shortened schedule until cooler temperatures return.

SEPTEMBER 15

Lawrence Yates Sherman dies at Daytona Beach, Florida at the age of eighty. He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives, 1897-1905 (Speaker, 1899-1903), Lieutenant Governor, 1905-1919, and a member of the United States Senate, 1913-1921.

SEPTEMBER 17

The daily average output of oil in Illinois during the past week has risen to a new peak of 331,416 barrels. Most of the upturn was caused by the jump in production in the Louden field in Fayette County. Exploration of the productive possibilities of the deep-lying Devonian formation was begun this week near Sandoval. One test, the Max Pray No. 3 Robinson, came in as a gusher and flowed out of control for seven hours.

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The new bridge over the Illinois River at Hennepin is dedicated. Built at a cost of $693,213, it has an over-all length of 2,414 feet, making it the longest of the thirteen bridges which span the Illinois River.

SEPTEMBER 21

Last rites are held in Springfield for Senator Lawrence

Y. Sherman who died in Florida on September 15. Burial is made at Montrose.

SEPTEMBER 24

Representative James P. Boyle dies at his home in Chicago, aged fifty-four. He was serving his eleventh consecutive term in the Illinois House of Representatives.

SEPTEMBER 25

The twenty-first annual national convention of the American Legion opens in Chicago, bringing an estimated quarter of a million visitors to the city.

SEPTEMBER 26

The American Legion, holding its national convention in Chicago, stages an enormous parade. Moving along Michigan Avenue from 9:00 A.M. to 9:00 P.M. it is estimated that there are some hundred thousand participants, accompanied by 100 bands and 500 drum and bugle corps.

SEPTEMBER 29

The typhoid fever epidemic at Manteno State Hospital has resulted in fifty-one deaths since mid-August. Included among these were 40 patients, 9 construction workers and 2 residents of Manteno. Contaminated water is said to be the source of the trouble.

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Irving Kane Pond, architect, writer, and world traveler, dies in Washington, D. C. He was born in Ann Arbor, Michigan in 1857 but he moved to Chicago in 1879 and spent most of his life in that city. He was widely known as the designer of many large public buildings in Chicago and other cities.

SEPTEMBER 30

Many places in Illinois report that the past month

was one of the warmest and driest on record. The region of the state capital has experienced the longest period without appreciable rainfall since the Weather Bureau began compiling statistics in 1879.

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During the first nine months of 1939 a total of 1,517 deaths have been caused by accidents on Illinois highways. This represents a four per cent increase over the same period in 1938.

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With 23,004 building permits issued in Illinois during the past nine months a gain of 19.5 per cent over the same period of last year is recorded. Moreover, the permit value has shown an even greater increase—total valuation for these months in 1938 was $46,990,775 and in 1939, it was $69,759,312.

OCTOBER 1

George Cardinal Mundelein dies at Mundelein at the age of sixty-seven. Born in New York City and educated in the East and in Europe, he was ordained as a priest in the Roman Catholic Church when he was twenty-three years old. He came to Chicago as archbishop in 1915 and was made a cardinal in 1924. He was the founder of the St. Mary of the Lake Seminary, the major theological seminary of the diocese, at Mundelein.

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Maclay Hoyne, Chicago lawyer, dies at the age of sixty-seven. He was state's attorney of Cook County from 1912 to 1920.

OCTOBER 4

The State Department of Insurance announces that a

reduction of approximately ten per cent in the fire insurance rates on Illinois dwellings, apartments, and their contents will be made on January 1, 1940. This is the third cut made in the rate on dwelling houses within the last four years.

October 14

Governor Horner returns to the state capital after spending the last eleven weeks in seclusion at Highland Park.

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Richard F. Kinsella, superintendent of the state division of oil inspection and old-time baseball scout, dies in Springfield at the age of seventy-six.

October 16

Investigation of the fifty-five recent deaths from typhoid fever at Manteno State Hospital is started by State's Attorney Samuel H. Shapiro and Coroner A. E. Kerger of Kankakee County.

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Frank E. Stevens, Illinois historian and a vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society, dies in Springfield. He spent most of his life in Lee County but had lived in Springfield during recent years, serving as head of the War Records Division in the office of the Illinois Adjutant General. He was widely known for his history of the Black Hawk War, published in 1903, and for numerous other historical writings. Many of his articles were published in this *Journal*.

October 26

Plans for the consolidation of Lewis Institute and Armour Institute of Technology—both located in Chicago—are announced. The new school, to be

called the Illinois Institute of Technology, will open its doors in September, 1940. The faculties of the two schools will be merged and eventually new buildings will be constructed.

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New "highs" are reported by various parts of the state which are experiencing another period of unseasonable weather. In Chicago, where the mercury reaches 80.3 degrees, violets and wild crab apple blossoms are in bloom.

October 30

Ecus Vaughn of Piatt County wins the Illinois state cornhusking championship held near Danville by husking 30.1 bushels in eighty minutes. He and Leland Klein of Woodford County, runner-up in the contest, will represent this state in the national event held near Lawrence, Kansas on November 3.

October 31

Oil production in Illinois has reached an all-time "high" during the past month with an estimated total yield of more than 10,250,000 barrels. This brings the state's output for the first ten months of 1939 to approximately 73,000,000 barrels. During October, 321 new wells were completed, 266 of them producers. Three new pools were opened in October—near Calvin and Phillipstown in White County and near Cowling in Wabash County.

November 1

Thirteen youths escape from the St. Charles School for Boys.

November 2

Six of the youths who yesterday escaped from St. Charles School for Boys have been captured. An in-

vestigation of the circumstances of their escape is announced.

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Opie Read, famous as the founder of the *Arkansas Traveler* and as the author of more than a score of novels, dies at his home in Chicago at the age of eighty-six.

NOVEMBER 8

An average yield of a little more than 171 bushels of corn to the acre on a six-acre field is the amazing record established by Roland Resler on a 180-acre farm near Champaign.

NOVEMBER 9

Judge Samuel Alschuler dies at his home in Chicago. He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1896 to 1900 and a judge on the United States Circuit Court of Appeals from 1915 to 1936.

NOVEMBER 15

Dr. Franklyn Bliss Snyder is inducted as the eleventh president of Northwestern University. He has been acting president since Dr. Walter Dill Scott retired on September 1. Dr. Snyder has been on the faculty of the University for thirty years.

NOVEMBER 16

The No. 18-A Shanafelt well, drilled by the Kingwood Oil Company near Selmaville, flows 490 barrels in the first seven hours. This well is significant because it was drilled in the Devonian limestone, at a depth of 3,405 feet.

NOVEMBER 17

A fifth oil-bearing layer is discovered in the Lake Centralia-Salem pool of the state. A well drilled by

the Lewis Armstrong & Day Company produces oil from the St. Louis lime formation which lies at a depth of 2,209 to 2,245 feet. Formations in this area which have previously been producers are: Benoist sand, at 1,770 feet; Aux Vases sand, 1,840 feet; McCloskey limestone, 2,000 feet; and the Devonian limestone, 3,405 to 3,430 feet.

NOVEMBER 18

Dr. Allan Joseph Hruby, a leader in the fight against tuberculosis, dies in Chicago at the age of forty-nine. He was born in Chicago and lived there all his life. He had been connected with the Chicago Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium since 1918, director of it since 1931.

NOVEMBER 21

The Kankakee County grand jury, conducting an investigation into the recent epidemic at Manteno State Hospital, indicts the following officials: A. L. Bowen, director of public welfare for the state; Dr. Ralph Hinton, suspended director of the hospital; Mrs. Lillian Williams, dietitian at the institution; and Dr. D. L. Steinberg, assistant to Dr. Hinton. They will be charged with malfeasance in office.

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Drought conditions prevailing throughout most of the winter wheat belt are responsible for increased buying of wheat on the Chicago Board of Trade, sending the price on December wheat to .89⅜. This is the highest price quoted on any delivery since March, 1938. Many parts of the areas growing winter wheat have had no rain of consequence for about a hundred days.

NOVEMBER 22

The Kingwood Oil Company's new deep test well

which began producing a week ago becomes one of the most significant discoveries of the year in Illinois. After a small acid treatment the well, known as the No. 18-A Shanafelt (on the farm of James O. Shanafelt), is now flowing at the rate of 450 barrels an hour. This production, at the rate of 10,800 barrels a day, sets an all-time record for Illinois wells. The well was drilled into the Devonian lime at 3,405 feet in the Lake Centralia-Salem field.

November 23

Thanksgiving is celebrated in Illinois and many other cities in the Union, in accordance with President Roosevelt's decision to proclaim the holiday a week ahead of the traditional date. Some states, however, are observing the holiday on the last Thursday of the month.

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An earthquake centering about thirty-one miles south of St. Louis is felt at 9:15 A.M. in many parts of Illinois. A decided tremor is noted in Springfield, and in Carlinville the telephone service is disrupted for several seconds. Shifting of the underground rock in the St. Mary's fault region is believed to be the cause.

November 25

James Simpson dies in Chicago. Long associated with Marshall Field and Company, he resigned the chairmanship of its board in 1932 to enter the field of public utilities. At the time of his death he was chairman of the Commonwealth Edison Company and the Public Service Company of Northern Illinois. He was also widely known for his philanthropic and civic activities.

NOVEMBER 30

Hiram Thornton Gilbert dies at the age of eighty-nine. He began the practice of law in Chicago in 1888. While a member of the forty-seventh Illinois General Assembly he wrote the municipal court act for Chicago.

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Weather reports for the month show that with the exception of 1933 the month just past was the driest November during the past fifty years in Illinois. The precipitation over the whole state averaged 1.32 inches, which is 1.26 inches below normal. During September, October, and November, the precipitation was only fifty-eight per cent of normal.

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Approximately one-sixth of Illinois is now under lease for oil development. There are 4,799 producing wells in the state.

DECEMBER 2

The fortieth annual International Livestock Exposition opens in Chicago. Competing for $100,000 in cash prizes are 13,385 head of cattle, sheep, horses, and swine, with a total value of $5,000,000. Some four thousand samples of hay and grain products are also on display. Fifty thousand people attend the show on the opening day.

DECEMBER 3

The birthday of the State of Illinois is observed. Illinois was the twenty-first state to be admitted to the Union one hundred and twenty-one years ago. The first capital was located at Kaskaskia.

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Alfred Hoyt Granger dies in Roxbury, Connecticut at

the age of seventy-two. He practiced architecture in Chicago from 1898 to 1936. He designed the Northwestern Railroad terminal, St. Luke's Hospital and many other large structures in Chicago as well as in other cities.

DECEMBER 4

The Illinois State Historical Society observes Illinois Day (December 3) by holding its Annual Meeting in Springfield. Grant Foreman, Muskogee, Oklahoma, speaks on the subject, "Illinois and her Indians." Vice-President Clint Clay Tilton presides over the meeting.

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Emery Stanford Hall dies at the age of seventy. He had been engaged in general architectural practice in Chicago since 1897, was chairman of the state board for examining architects, and since 1906 had edited the *Handbook for Architects and Builders*.

DECEMBER 5

Cash wheat reaches $1.00 per bushel in Chicago. This is the highest price quoted since March, 1938. Futures jump as much as .03¼ and other grains also share in the upturn.

DECEMBER 6

A December "heat wave" covers much of Illinois. New all-time records for the date and for the month are established in many places.

DECEMBER 9

The International Livestock Exposition closes in Chicago. Fifty-four championships and 135 first prizes go to citizens of this state. During the eight days of the Exposition, a record crowd of 448,000 people has been

in attendance. Exhibits were entered from 41 states and 6 Canadian provinces.

DECEMBER 11

Charles R. Walgreen dies at the age of sixty-four. He was president of the Walgreen Company, drug chain, until a few months ago when he resigned and became chairman of the board.

DECEMBER 15

Wallace Rice, author, editor, and lecturer, dies in Chicago at the age of eighty. He was the designer of the Chicago municipal flag and the Illinois centennial flag.

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Wheat futures on the Chicago Board of Trade soar more than .03 a bushel, bringing the highest prices in more than two years. December delivery reaches $1.05. The most severe autumn drought ever experienced over the domestic hard wheat belt, reports of crop damage in Argentine, and the European war news, are responsible for the sensational advances of the last three weeks. The price has advanced about .17 during this period.

DECEMBER 17

Florence Finch Kelly, native of Girard and known as the "dean of American newspaper women," dies at the age of eighty-one in New Hartford, Connecticut. During her fifty-six years as a journalist she wrote a number of books, latest of which was *Flowing Stream*—her autobiography—published only a few months ago. She was a member of the staff of the *New York Times* Book Review section from 1906 to 1936.

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High temperatures continue to prevail in much of the

state. In Springfield an official figure of 60 degrees is recorded.

DECEMBER 19

Williston Fish, lawyer, author, and former manager and vice-president of the Chicago Surface Lines, dies at his home in Western Springs.

DECEMBER 21

The University of Chicago trustees vote to drop football as an intercollegiate sport, effective at once. It is planned, however, to continue to maintain intercollegiate teams in all the other sports sponsored by the Big Ten Conference.

DECEMBER 24

Snow and rain storms bring an end to the long drought in the winter wheat belt of this country and cause a drop in wheat prices on the Chicago Board of Trade. The closing price is 1.02⅜.

DECEMBER 26

The winter's first snowstorm hits most of central and southern Illinois. Traffic accidents are numerous as icy sheets cover many highways.

DECEMBER 27

Heavy snows continue to fall in many parts of Illinois. Four thousand men are at work clearing the highways.

# HISTORICAL NOTE

INDEPENDENCE, MO.
December 20, 1939

*Editor Journal of Illinois State Historical Society*
*Springfield, Illinois*
DEAR SIR:

Pursuant to the suggestions contained in your letter of August 19, we wish to urge the following criticism of Mr. Clyde E. Buckingham's article, entitled "Mormonism in Illinois," published in the June issue of the *Journal*.[1] We do not wish to impugn Mr. Buckingham's motives; but we do believe that he has taken much of his material from highly prejudiced and unreliable sources. For example, on page 174, Mr. Buckingham says:

Many reasons have been given for this "persecution" of the Mormons. Their religion was disliked by some, but the chief causes of the controversy seem to have been economic and political. From the beginning, Mormon leaders urged their followers to vote as a unit and to vote whichever way the leaders thought would best serve Mormon interests.

This statement is decidedly questionable. We note that Governor Thomas Ford, in his *History of Illinois*, states:

But the people remained in doubt until the next day, being Sunday, when Joe Smith himself appeared before the assembly. He there stated that "he himself was in favor of Mr. Walker, and intended to vote for him; that he would not, if he could, influence any voter in giving his vote; that he considered it a mean business for him or any other man to attempt to dictate to the people who they should support in elections; that he had heard his brother Hiram [Hyrum] had received a revelation from the Lord on the subject; that for his part he did not much believe in revelations on the subject of elections; but brother Hiram was a man of truth; he had known brother Hiram intimately ever since he was a boy, and he had never known him to tell a lie. If brother Hiram said he had received such a revelation, he had no doubt it was a fact. When the Lord speaks, let all the earth be silent." . . . The

[1] *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXXII, no. 2 (June, 1939), 173-92.

next day Mr. Hoge received about three thousand votes in Nauvoo, and was elected to Congress by six or eight hundred majority.[2]

Now in this and other respects Governor Ford's antagonism is shown. Here is a clear statement that Joseph Smith did vote for Walker; that he would not, if he could, influence any voter; that he considered it a "mean business" to attempt to dictate; that he "did not believe in revelation on the subject of elections." According to this statement he merely tried to let his brother Hyrum down easy to save his face in part; but the declaration of principle is clear. We know of no reason to believe that Joseph Smith ever at any time attempted to influence the vote of the church members or to dictate in any way. Nor do we find where the church or its officers at any time ever attempted any coercion in political matters, that is, up to the time of the death of Joseph Smith.

Further, Governor Ford appears to err as to the size of the vote, which was, for Hancock County (not Nauvoo alone), Hoge 2,088, Walker 733, and a plurality in the congressional district of 574. A check of the vote for Congress in 1838 and 1846 would indicate that at least half of the 1843 vote was non-Mormon.[3]

In the paragraph beginning at the bottom of page 174, Mr. Buckingham states:

> The Gentiles became convinced that the "Saints" must be driven from Missouri, whereas Mormon leaders hurled defiance to their opponents and threatened a "war of extermination."

We admit that there may possibly have been cases of inflamed speech on the part of some of the members of the church, such as the speech of Sidney Rigdon on the Fourth of July, 1838. As to the accuracy of reports of this speech, we are dependent upon Hunt's *Mormon War*.

But Hunt was very evidently not only strongly prejudiced, as he perverted every alleged fact to give it the worst possible construction, but his book is also full of statements which can be proved untrue. As one instance, on page 66, he paints Martin Harris in a most disreputable light, makes him say to his dying wife:

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[2] *A History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1854), 318-19.

[3] Theodore Calvin Pease, *Illinois Election Returns 1818-1848* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, XVIII, Springfield, 1923), 140.

" 'I am writing a letter to the woman I intend to marry after you are dead!' And he actually married in about two weeks!!" The footnote states: "Harris married Mrs. Morgan, formerly wife of Wm. L. Morgan, the author of an attempt to expose Masonry." Now that statement is unqualifiedly false. Martin Harris never married Lucinda Morgan, widow of William L. Morgan. It was George W. Harris, not related to Martin Harris, who some two or three years before he heard of the church had married Lucinda Morgan. That is just one of many instances of Hunt's inaccuracy. There is no reason to believe that he correctly reported the speech. However, if it was correctly reported, the orator went a little too far. Yet even as there written, it appears an able address, for the most part patriotic, referring to the sacrifice made by the fathers of the revolution. It is only at the close of a very long address, of which the account is evidently condensation, in the very last part, that he speaks of their suffering. Then after saying that they had tried with kindness and patience for peace, but that persecution did not cease, he declares, if continually oppressed, if they are not allowed as citizens to enjoy the rights of citizens, it will mean a war of extermination; that they will defend themselves, adding "We will never be the aggressors—we will infringe on the rights of no people, but shall stand for our own until death."[4]

This was the closing of a long oration. Orations often work up to a point that is a little extreme. If this is correctly reported, Sidney Rigdon did at this time overstep a little; but it was mild compared to the official order of extermination issued by Governor Lilburn Boggs, and we know of no other statement except this one of defense—that if attacked they would defend themselves until exterminated.

On page 181, reference is made to the meaning of the word "Nauvoo," and Joseph Smith's knowledge of the Hebrew language is adroitly questioned by the use of the term "enlightened." Young's *Concordance*[5] gives the meaning of naah as "be beautiful," and of naveh as "a dwelling place," or "habitation," and it is quite likely that this was the origin of the name "Nauvoo."

Apparently Mr. Buckingham is in error in his statement with

[4] James H. Hunt, *A History of the Mormon War* (St. Louis, 1844), 167-80.

[5] Robert Young, *Analytical Concordance to the Bible* (New York, 1910), "Index-Lexicon to Old Testament," 28, 31.

respect to the Nauvoo charter on page 183, for he says: "Under provisions of the charter, Nauvoo established its own militia." As a matter of fact, the Nauvoo militia was organized under the state law as a part of the state militia. Militia and military organizations were required at that time, especially in frontier cities. It is true that Section 25 of the Charter authorized the city council to organize the inhabitants of the city subject to military duty; but it was distinctly provided:

> The officers. . . shall be commissioned by the Governor of the State. The said legion shall perform the same amount of military duty as is now, or may be hereafter required of the regular militia of the State and shall be . . . at the disposal of the governor for public defence, and the execution of the laws of the State or of the United States.[6]

Dr. John C. Bennett does appear to have had an active part at one time in events in Nauvoo, until his real nature was found out.[7] He did not become the commander of the legion, but does appear to have occupied a high secondary place.

Beginning on page 185, Mr. Buckingham reviews some of the many attacks made upon the Latter Day Saints by men of the ministry of other churches. This simply shows the temperament of the religious teachers of the time. The existence of these prejudices has never been questioned and, in fact, was and has been established for many years. Why did not Mr. Buckingham incorporate the statements of Josiah Quincy, the Reverend Prior, and many others who visited Nauvoo in those earlier years? These reverend gentlemen were highly favorable to Joseph Smith and his movement and his leadership.

On page 188, Mr. Buckingham refers to Joseph Smith's candidacy for the presidency of the United States. It is well established that Joseph Smith did not expect to be elected President, but that acting upon advice and counsel of friends he was induced to become a candidate on the theory that by so doing he could the more easily get before the people of the country his religious views. That this was his motive has been unquestionably established.[8]

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[6] *Laws of Illinois, 1840-1841*, p. 57.

[7] Evarts Boutell Greene and Charles Manfred Thompson, *Governors' Letter Books, 1840-1853* (*Ill. Hist. Col.*, VII, Springfield, 1911), lxxxiii.

[8] Joseph Smith and Heman C. Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (Lamoni, Iowa, 1879) II: 726, 727; also *Times and Seasons* (Nauvoo, Illinois, 1844) 393-96, 544-48, 528-33.

On page 189, Mr. Buckingham refers to the claims of John Doyle Lee with respect to the practice of polygamy in Nauvoo. The question of any official church sanction of polygamy was entirely and completely disposed of in the famous Temple Lot Case, when Judge John F. Philips held that there was nothing to show that the church had ever adopted polygamy or had ever taken any action with respect to it.[9] He also found that there was no evidence tending to prove that Joseph Smith himself was a polygamist, that no child by any plural wife was ever in evidence. In fact, there was no such claim ever made for any person during the life of Joseph Smith, Jr., or afterward.

Polygamy as a doctrine of the church was never practiced in Nauvoo, unless after the death of Joseph Smith it was secretly put in effect. Prior to the death of Joseph Smith there was some private teaching of such a doctrine as sealing a man and wife, and there is evidence to show that Joseph Smith had learned that certain of the men of the ministry were involved in teaching secret marriages.[10] But neither sealing nor any variation was part of church doctrine nor of the teachings of Joseph Smith, Jr. Before his death he called upon one of the officials of the church to bring charges against these men on the grounds of adultery and to cut them off from the church, and said that he would go into the stand and preach against them and denounce them; but he did not live to carry out his part of this agreement.[11]

Since Mr. Buckingham makes much of John Doyle Lee, it may be well here to point out that John D. Lee was a confessed murderer. He was also a polygamist. No account was written and published during his lifetime and the oldest one was an alleged confession by him. At least two different accounts have been published which do not agree. We note that in John Doyle Lee's book, *The Mormon Menace*, several very material elements on this question were omitted. We are not sure at all that we have the actual statement of Lee. The evidence should be weighed and the character of the witness noted, as also the fact that it probably was altered before publication. Now turning to what it is alleged

[9] *Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* vs. *Church of Christ*, 60 Fed. Rep. 937.

[10] *True Latter Day Saints' Herald* (Plano, Illinois), XXII: 225-32; XXVI: 117.

[11] *True Latter Day Saints' Herald* (Cincinnati, Ohio), I: 22, 23.

he said, we have only the weight of Lee's statement that Joseph Smith hired a man to hunt out such passages. It is entirely unsupported. But Joseph Smith, Jr., did denounce the pamphlet. The allegation that it "pleased Joseph Smith, but for policy's sake he pretended otherwise," is quite in line with assertions which would make Joseph Smith very much of a liar and a crook, quite aside from any question of immorality. There is no alleged evidence to sustain Lee's statement and it is emphatically contrary to all of the public teachings and writings of Joseph Smith. Further, this statement that it would please the prophet does not appear in the earlier account in *Mormonism Unveiled*.[12] It is a statement added long after the death of Lee.

There are a number of other statements made in the *Mormon Menace* which have been inserted in order to make it read more strongly against Joseph Smith. This was the case in the earlier confession. Though this confession came through the hands of antagonistic persons and we are not at all assured that we have the statement of John D. Lee, even if we do we are prepared to accept everything he said. Lee was executed on March 23, 1877. *Mormonism Unveiled* was published and copyrighted in 1891, fourteen years later. How much was it "edited" or "revised?" Yet many changes were made in the *Mormon Menace* text published in 1915. Not wishing to take too much of your space we will not attempt a detailed comparison, but the two accounts are materially different on many points and the *Mormon Menace* has inserted clear statements, most offensive, which do not appear in the earlier publication.

We may comment on the fact that Lee is alleged to have said, on page 186 of the *Menace*, that Hyrum explained to him fully the doctrine of polygamy: "I at once accepted and believed . . . . A few months after, I was sealed to my second wife. I was sealed to her by Brigham, then one of the twelve." But when we turn to page 209 we find that in the winter of 1845, meetings were held all over the city of Nauvoo and that the idea of celestial marriage was then introduced. Then, according to page 210: "My second wife, Nancy Bean, came to Nauvoo. . . and was sealed to me in the winter of 1845." Is it not clear that it was not until at least the winter of 1845,

[12] *Mormonism Unveiled, Including the Life and Confessions of John D. Lee* (St. Louis, 1891), 146.

after Joseph Smith was killed (June 27, 1844) that he took his second wife?

Mr. Buckingham calls attention to the action of the city council in destroying the plant of the *Nauvoo Expositor*. It is true that the council of the city of Nauvoo sat, under their charter rights, and considered the question of the *Nauvoo Expositor* and found that it was a nuisance and ordered its abatement, but Joseph Smith, III, the eldest son of the Prophet, states that in a crowd on Main Street in Nauvoo in 1844, he heard his father say, concerning the *Nauvoo Expositor*: "Whatever you may think about it, you have this day made me do, in my official capacity as your officer, an act that I believe we shall all be sorry for, and that will make us great trouble hereafter."[13]

E. C. Briggs stated that about 1857, when he visited in Nauvoo and talked with Emma Smith, the widow of Joseph Smith, Jr., she said:

I never had any reason to oppose him, for we were always on the best of terms ourselves, but he allowed some others to persuade him in some measures against his will, and those things I opposed. He was opposed to the destroying of the press of the Nauvoo *Expositor*, but the council overruled him by vote, and he told them they were the cause of its destruction, but he would be held personally responsible for it; and often heard Joseph contend against measures in council, and sometimes he would yield to them.[14]

The statement of William B. Smith, a brother of Joseph Smith, Jr., confirms these statements.[15] Moreover, the son of Katherine Smith Salisbury, who was therefore the nephew of Joseph Smith, Jr., has made the following statement:

I have often heard my mother, Katherine Salisbury, say, that her brother, Joseph Smith, Junior, was opposed to the destruction of the Expositor Press, but that it was done against his expressed will and desire.[16]

In the *Nauvoo Expositor*, referred to on page 189, there are certain so-called affidavits which are rather vague and indefinite and would

[13] Edward W. Tullidge, *Life of Joseph the Prophet* (Plano, Ill., 1880), 746.

[14] Edmund C. Briggs, "A Visit to Nauvoo in 1856," *Journal of History*, Vol. IX, no. 4 (Oct., 1916), 460-61.

[15] *Saints' Herald* (1879), XXVI: 117.

[16] Statement signed Fred V. Salisbury, Independence, June 24, 1926. (Historical Files, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Independence, Mo.).

appear possibly to involve Hyrum Smith, but not Joseph Smith, except indirectly and by hearsay. The point important to note is that at the official meeting of the city council as represented by the city clerk and the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, both Hyrum Smith and Joseph Smith denied that there had ever been any such teaching. This was the official meeting of a quasi-judicial body and should carry considerable weight, especially as Joseph Smith declared further that he had never discussed this subject in private with anyone, but only in public from the stand, and to this all present in the city council agreed. There was never any such report extant—in any place or at any time—of a public declaration by Joseph Smith, Jr. involving plural marriage. It is possible that Brigham Young and some others were talking about it, but this was not a main cause of Nauvoo difficulties. Causes rather reach back to the election of Hoge over Walker, followed by the destruction of the *Expositor* press. It does not appear to have been a factor in the difficulties which arose.

In fact, a further reason is given in a letter—in our possession—of Isaac Galland to Samuel B. Swasey, written in 1839, in which he forecast that when the church people were well established and had built up a community that a mob would again arise, drive them out and confiscate the property, as they had done in Missouri.

If those making the affidavits in the *Expositor* had any evidence, why did they not take the matter up many months or years prior to this and have corrective steps taken?

On pages 190–91, Mr. Buckingham says:

> In the end it proved to be a struggle between the family of the Prophet and Brigham Young, President of the Twelve, with Young proving to be the stronger and gaining control at Nauvoo.

This is unquestionably wrong, as there was no movement on the part of the Smiths to assume control or leadership in the church. It is true that Emma Smith and others of the family of Joseph Smith declined to follow Brigham Young or accept his leadership or that of any of his factional leaders, but there was no effort on the part of Joseph Smith's family at that time to assume leadership of the church. It is true that later (after 1860) the original church, under the leadership of Joseph III, proved a strong group or church in opposition to the teachings of Utah, but in Nauvoo it was a matter

simply of wrongful assumption of authority by Brigham Young and the Quorum of Twelve.

We do not wish to be contentious, but we do have a desire to set people right when they are manifestly in error.

Yours very sincerely,

S. A. Burgess

*Historian, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*

# THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

## BOUND FOR THE GREAT SALT LAKE

My Emigrant Ship lies broadside-on to the wharf. Two great gangways made of spars and planks connect her with the wharf; and up and down these gangways, perpetually crowding to and fro and in and out, like ants, are the Emigrants who are going to sail in my Emigrant Ship. Some with cabbages, some with loaves of bread, some with cheese and butter, some with milk and beer, some with boxes, beds, and bundles, some with babies—nearly all with children—nearly all with bran-new tin cans for their daily allowance of water, uncomfortably suggestive of a tin flavour in the drink. To and fro, up and down, aboard and ashore, swarming here and there and everywhere, my Emigrants. . . . They had come from various parts of England in small parties that had never seen one another before. Yet they had not been a couple of hours on board, when they established their own police, made their own regulations, and set their own watches at all the hatchways. Before nine o'clock, the ship was as orderly and as quiet as a man-of-war. . . . Eight Hundred Mormons. . . .

The Mormon Agent . . . had been active in getting them together, and in making the contract with my friends the owners of the ship to take them as far as New York on their way to the Great Salt Lake. . . .

There were many worn faces bearing traces of patient poverty and hard work, and there was great steadiness of purpose and much undemonstrative self-respect among this class. A few young men were going singly. Several girls were going, two or three together. These latter I found it very difficult to refer back, in my mind, to their relinquished homes and pursuits. Perhaps they were more like country milliners, and pupil teachers rather tawdrily dressed, than any other classes of young women. I noticed, among many little ornaments worn, more than one photograph-brooch of the Princess of Wales, and also of the late Prince Consort. Some single women of

from thirty to forty, whom one might suppose to be embroiderers, or straw-bonnet-makers, were obviously going out in quest of husbands, as finer ladies go to India. That they had any distinct notions of a plurality of husbands or wives, I do not believe. . . .

When . . . the afternoon began to wear on, a black box became visible on deck, which box was in charge of certain personages also in black, of whom only one had the conventional air of an itinerant preacher. This box contained a supply of hymn-books, neatly printed and got up, published at Liverpool, and also in London at the "Latter-Day Saints' Book Depot, 30, Florence-street." . . . The choir in the boat was very popular and pleasant; and there was to have been a Band, only the Cornet was late in coming on board. . . .

I afterwards learned that a Despatch was sent home by the captain before he struck out into the wide Atlantic, highly extolling the behaviour of these Emigrants, and the perfect order and propriety of all their social arrangements. What is in store for the poor people on the shores of the Great Salt Lake, what happy delusions they are labouring under now, on what miserable blindness their eyes may be opened then, I do not pretend to say.

CHARLES DICKENS, *The Uncommercial Traveler*, 259-71.

## BOOK LENDING—A PERENNIAL HAZARD

AWFUL CATASTROPHE! The subscriber, since his residence here finds himself minus of the following books:

Prairie, 2 vols.
Red Rover, 2 vols.
Water Witch
British Classics, 2 vols.
Jacob Faithful, 2 vols.
Henry Quartre, 2 vols.
Japhet in Search of his Father, 2 vols.
Georgia and Creek Indians
Ryon's Algebra
Wept of Wishton Wish, 2 vols.
King's Own
Tales of a Traveler

All persons who have done reading any of the above enumerated

works, will confer an especial favor by returning them to the owner.

Peoria, Jan. 25, 1840. N. H. Purple.

Advertisement, *Peoria Register and North-Western Gazetteer*, Feb. 1, 1840.

## POLITICS, 1840

Springfield
June 4th 1840

Dear Mary

I am tempted by the opportunity of Mr Hays return to write you a few lines tho I wrote you immediately on my arrival. I can not give you an idea of what is now passing here, nothing like it has ever occurred in this state, and except the gathering at Tipacanoe nothing in the west. That meating I am told by Doct. Todd, Judge Huntington (of Indiana) & others who are just from there was probably more numerous, but for arrangement, display, and imposing appearance it was far behind what was exhibited here yesterday & to day. There ware in the Procession (which paraded in the perara [prairie] out by Ilses) 9670 on foot, in platoons of Hdred, 250 odd of these ware soldiers of Harrisons & marched in front with a fine band of musick 260 Carriages, waggons and other vehicles filled to overflowing followed next & then a large concours accompanied the procession through the town, to the grove at the East of the town. In all it is believed there ware at least 15,000 persons. There was a full rigged friggate on the wheals of a large waggon brought from Chicago, a steamboat carried in the same way and dozens of Canoes with 60 or 70 persons in them several drawn by 6 white horses, log cabbins drawn in the same way.

There was a full sized likeness of Genl. Harrison painted by an artist here from life carried in procession. There was in all 152 banners carried by the different delegations some very large & handsom, some ware carricatures well painted on silk and canvass, others quaint and curious &c. The meeting which we noticed having taken place at St. Louis was not half as large as this, & nothing like so imposing, this I am told by Gentlemen from there. There was more than 1000 horsemen, all distinguished by large silk sashes worn round the shoulders & waist. The whole of the Perara [prairie] be-

tween Ileses (on the hill where the lombardy trees are) & the town was covered with the tents of the delegates and all the houses filled to overflowing by the strangers. The accounts of the great changes taking place in every quarter, have inspired the whigs with the most undouting confidence of success. I have retired to the court room to write you this, every other house, & the streets are wedged full, but I can say no more at present, I hope to amuse you with a detail of all that has occurred when I have the pleasure of meeting you again, this I hope will be in about 3 weeks as the lawyers are generally disposed to continue their cases, neither our court nor that of the U. States having been able to do any business yet. I am quite well & hope this will find my dear Mary, mother & children well & happy, do take care of yourself & write to me. God bless you my dearest.

WM. WILSON

Original letter in Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield.

## PORTRAIT OF THE ILLINOISAN, 1858

W—— is a singular fellow. The whole west is in him. Generosity & selfishness, shrewdness & stupidity, sincereity & deceit, all unite to form a character whose ruling & guiding principle is inordinate & unbounded vanity. I never saw a more amusing contrast than was presented by the light in which you presented him on the occasion you mentioned & the account which *he* gives of his own achievements. The average Westerner always spells badly & rides well. Believes in himself & in Douglas, has a profound contempt for goodness & grammar, puts on his gloves & religion only Sundays, is never affected even when he swaggers & swears, prays & fights because he likes barbaric excitement & is bored when he dies because he thinks heaven will be quiet. Do not call me Pharisaical, that I say this. For I earnestly wish I were nearer like other barbarians or even as that publican. If you lived in Illinois you would know how wicked it is to murmur at your lot.

*A College Friendship: Letters of John Hay to Hannah Angell*, 38.

## PUBLIC MANNERS A CENTURY AGO

In the winter of 1837-8, R. B. Marcy, U. S. A., made a pleasure excursion, with a party of ladies and gentlemen, from Northern Wisconsin to Chicago. He says (*Harpers' Mag.*, September, 1869):

Entering the City, we drove directly to the Lake House, which had just been completed, and was regarded by our rural party as about the most magnificent hotel in the universe. Sumptuous apartments were assigned to us, and everything was done by the obliging proprietor to make us comfortable; and here we ate of the first fresh oysters that were ever introduced into that City. Canned oysters were then unknown, and these were brought in sleighs all the way from New Haven, Connecticut, and were, of course, sold at fabulous prices. This was probably the first time printed bills of fare and napkins had appeared at a Western hotel table, and the comments they elicited from some of the "Hoosiers" and "Suckers" were droll in the extreme. For instance, one verdant individual, from the Wabash, after seating himself at the dinner-table, and not having been furnished with those indispensable adjuncts to a modern table called to the waiter in a loud voice saying: "Look a-yere, Mister, I don't mind if I hev one o'them thar catalogues an' towels."

H. H. Hurlbut, *Chicago Antiquities*, 524.

# NEWS AND COMMENT

A radio program based on events in the history of Illinois is being presented each Tuesday afternoon at 4:30 (Central Standard Time) over Station WILL, the University of Illinois radio station. The Illinois State Historical Society is sponsoring these broadcasts which began on February 6. The scripts are written by George Jennings of the Radio Council of the Chicago Public Schools and are presented in dramatic form by the University Broadcasters. A narrative of each broadcast, accompanied by suggested readings, is available to anyone upon request.

Abraham Lincoln's New Salem post office, officially named Lincoln's New Salem, was reopened and rededicated on February 12. The post office, which was located in the Hill-McNamar store of the village when Lincoln was postmaster, was removed to nearby Petersburg in 1836. When it was reopened on the occasion of his birthday anniversary this year, it was located in the reconstructed Hill-McNamar store, with John W. Gellerman acting as postmaster. Mail was delivered on the opening day by four different methods: stagecoach, horseback, airplane, and by Boy Scouts.

Speakers on the dedication program included: Postmaster General James A. Farley, United States Senators Scott W. Lucas and James M. Slattery, Congressman James M. Barnes, and Harry B. Hershey. Logan Hay, president of the Abraham Lincoln Association, acted as chairman.

J. Nick Perrin, one of the founders of the Illinois State Historical Society, died at St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Belleville, on January 21, 1940. He would have been eighty-five years old on June 23.

Mr. Perrin was born in what is now French Village, Illinois, of French and Swiss parentage. He attended schools in the neighbor-

hood and McKendree College, and then studied law at the University of Michigan. At the age of twenty-one he was admitted to the Illinois bar. He established a law office at Lebanon, but in 1878 he removed to Belleville, which he made his home for the remainder of his life.

After several years Mr. Perrin abandoned the practice of the law and entered the lecture field. For many years he was one of the best known lecturers in the country. His most popular lecture was "The Man of Illinois," a discourse on Lincoln.

J. Nick Perrin entered public life early in his career. In 1880 he was elected to the Legislature as a Democrat and served one term. He was his party's nominee for Congress in 1904 and 1918, and he was a delegate to the Democratic National Conventions of 1896 and 1924. During the World War he served as a member of the Belleville draft board.

The history of Illinois was long a subject of interest with Mr. Perrin. He wrote a history of the state, and served for four years, under appointment by Governor Altgeld, as a trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library. Late in life he spent three years gratuitously arranging and indexing the early records of St. Clair County. By his own request, his body was cremated and the ashes were buried at Perrin's Ledge, a bluff on the west bank of the Illinois River where he believed Marquette and Joliet first set foot on Illinois soil.

Mr. Perrin was married to Lola McCoy on January 31, 1882. Surviving him is his only son, L. N. Nick Perrin of Belleville.

From a young immigrant clerking in a foreign language bookstore Adolph Kroch has become one of the most important booksellers—perhaps the most important—in the United States. Anything he has to say, therefore, about publishing, selling, and reading books deserves respectful attention. Readers of Mr. Kroch's *A Great Bookstore in Action*,[1] however, will find more than helpful advice on bookselling. This slender attractive volume manages to convey much of the author's enthusiasm for books—much, even, of his own philosophy of life—at the same time that it explains the

[1] The University of Chicago Press.

growth and operation of a store which has become a well-known Chicago institution.

The publishing event of the season—and for that matter, of many years—was the appearance, on December 1, 1939, of Carl Sandburg's *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years.*[2] Commencing with Lincoln's first inauguration, where *The Prairie Years* stopped, the book carries Lincoln to his inexorable end with all the majesty and sweep of a mighty river. Here is the great President in all his moods and capacities; here is much of the recorded opinion of his contemporaries. "Monumental," a word of which reviewers are overfond, applies here if it ever applies.

Readers of the *Journal* who are interested in critical opinion, in which this magazine does not ordinarily indulge, will find it in *The Lincoln of Carl Sandburg*, a pamphlet recently issued by Mr. Sandburg's publishers. Among the reviews included in this publication is one by Lloyd Lewis, one of the trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library.

Ernest E. East, one of the directors of the Illinois State Historical Society, is the author of an unusual volume entitled *Abraham Lincoln Sees Peoria.*[3] Its thirty-eight pages contain an explicit, detailed account of the seventeen visits which Lincoln made to Peoria between 1832 and 1858—prior to Mr. East's researches only five such visits were known—together with more than two hundred pictures of Peoria people and places contemporary with Lincoln. By resorting to a new printing technique Mr. East was able not only to arrange his illustrations so that they fit the text, but also to produce an attractive book at a fraction of the cost which the lavish use of pictures would ordinarily necessitate. In the words of M. L. Houser, who contributes a short introduction, "to the serious students of Lincolniana, Mr. East's little work unfolds a new and thought-provoking chapter in Lincoln biography; to the casual reader, an interesting story that is told with the concinnity and

[2] Harcourt Brace & Company. 4 vols. $20.
[3] The author, 1112 Prospect Road, Peoria. $1.00.

charm which result from many years of newspaper work and feature writing."

With the publication of a volume entitled *Minnesota Farmers' Diaries*[4] the Minnesota Historical Society enters a field almost wholly neglected. Here, in matter-of-fact entries, is the record of farming operations in the Middle West between 1845 and 1863—crops and yields, implements, prices, and all the other conditions attendant upon living on the land. The authors were plain farmers, and there is nothing spectacular about the records of their lives, but anyone who has ever lived on a farm, or possessed any curiosity about a farmer's way of life, will find these diaries full of interest.

*Minnesota Farmers' Diaries* contains the diary of William R. Brown for 1845 and 1846, and that of Mitchell Y. Jackson for the years 1852-1863. Of the two the Jackson diary is much the longer and more interesting. Several pages, moreover, are devoted to descriptions of Chicago and other Illinois cities and towns which the writer visited in 1854.

Dr. Rodney C. Loehr of the University of Minnesota has furnished an interesting introduction to both diaries and full footnotes. The volume, like all publications of the Minnesota Historical Society, is impeccably printed.

If any readers of this magazine have ever been possessed with the desire to own a copy of Henry C. Whitney's *Life on the Circuit with Lincoln* but have been compelled to suppress their impulses by the high price which that book has long commanded, they are advised that a reprint is now available.[5] Introduction and notes are by Paul M. Angle, and the book contains an index—an undeniable advantage.

In recent months the Illinois State Historical Library has received a large number of family histories as gifts. Among those to

[4] Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul. $2.50.
[5] Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho. $5.00.

whom the Library is indebted are the following:

Mrs. C. G. Allen, Ursa, Illinois for Allen, *Abraham Guseman Descendants;* American Historical Company, New York City, for American Historical Society, *Mangold and Allied Families;* W. P. Anderson, Cincinnati, Ohio, for Anderson, *Anderson Family Records;* Dr. Harold Bowditch, Boston, Massachusetts, for Bowditch, *The Bowditch Family of Salem, Massachusetts;* A. M. Bower, Lebanon, Ohio, for Bower, *The Bower and Swickard Families;* John E. Breese, Lima, Ohio, for Breese, "Hover Family;" Col. L. Vernon Briggs, Boston, Massachusetts, for Briggs, *The Cabot Family;* Emma E. Brigham, Springfield, Massachusetts, for Brigham, *Neal Family;* Walter H. Buck, Baltimore, Maryland, for Buck, *Buck Family of Virginia;* E. A. Byous, St. Joseph, Missouri, for Byous, *Ancestors and Descendants of Adam Dittemore and Henry Dittemore;* Maurice L. Carr, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, for Carr, "John Karr;" Jessie Elizabeth Roush, Orlando, Florida, for Coons and Roush, *Forebears and Descendants of Michael and Eve Breon Roush;* Edward Cornell, Central Valley, New York, for Cornell, *Susanna Cornell Ferguson and Descendants;* Rev. William E. Cox, Southern Pines, North Carolina, for Cox, *Our Family Genealogy;* Howard F. Dyson, Rushville, Illinois, for Deacon, *Descendants of William Armiger Scripps;* Thatcher-Anderson Co., New Brunswick, New Jersey, for Demarest, *Demarest Family*; Dr. Charles A. Fisher, Deland, Florida, for Fisher, *The Woodling Family;* Edward Fitch, Clinton, New York, for Fitch, *Descendants of Seymour Fitch and Elizabeth Hoyt;* William J. Foster, Schenectady, New York, for Foster, *John Dobbin;* Irene M. Gower, Grymes Hill, Staten Island, New York, for Gower, *Gauer-Gower Family;* M. K. Hobbs, Chicago, Illinois, for Hobbs, *John and Sarah Bradbury Coons and Descendants;* Max Ellis Hoffman, Asheville, North Carolina, for Hoffman, *The Hoffmans of North Carolina;* David M. Hoover, Elkhart, Indiana, for Hoover, *Genealogy of Children of David M. Hoover and Verna A. Mercer-Hoover;* Mary Ruthrauff Hoover, Kansas City, Missouri, for Hoover, *History of the Ruthrauffs;* Rev. John W. Hoyt, Medford, Oregon, for Hoyt, "Genealogy of Charles Davenport Hoyt;" John D. Humphries, Atlanta, Georgia, for Humphries, *Descendants of Charles Humphries* and *Descendants of John Thurman;* Solomon Kerstein, New York City, for Kerstein, *Michael Tenzer Family Circle;* Richard H. Koch, Pottsville, Pennsylvania, for Koch,

*Thirty Ancestors of Richard Henry Koch;* Le Roy Kramer, Chicago, Illinois, for Kramer, *Johann Baltasar Kramer, his Descendants;* C. M. Coldron, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, for Landis, *Twenty-fourth Reunion of the Landis Families;* A. A. Lewis, Fredericksburg, Virginia, for Lewis, *The Green Family of Culpeper County, Virginia;* William Daniel Ligon, Jr., New York City, for Ligon, *Ligon Family and Kinsmen Association;* R. W. Lindenberger, Lawrence, Kansas, for Lindenberger, *Beard Family History;* Mrs. C. L. Lumpkin, Carlinville, Illinois, for Lumpkin, *Pegram Family.*

The board of directors of the Augustana Historical Society met on December 7, 1939 and re-elected the following officers: Professor O. L. Nordstrom, president; Dr. F. M. Fryxell, vice-president; Dr. E. W. Olson, secretary; and Dr. William Baehr, treasurer.

The annual joint meeting of the Aurora Historical Society and the Aurora chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution was held on December 10, 1939 at the Tanner home. Dr. William Warren Sweet of the University of Chicago spoke on "Religion in the Making of the Nation."

The historic William A. Tanner home, which was presented to the Historical Society some time ago by Martha Tanner Thornton and Mary Tanner Hopkins, houses the historical museum of the Society. Mrs. Thornton recently rendered further assistance by making extensive repairs on the building.

The *Bluffs Times* celebrated its fiftieth anniversary on November 15, 1939, by bringing out an Anniversary Edition of twenty-six pages. Following the usual custom, much of the Anniversary Edition is devoted to articles dealing with various phases of the history of the community. Bluffs' situation on the Illinois River, however, has led to the inclusion of several articles on the river and river life of the past, which gives this edition an element of novelty. The Anniversary Edition was wisely printed on high-grade paper.

Fred Marean was again elected president of the Boone County Historical Society when election of officers was held on January 8. Other officers named include: James M. Huff, Thomas Beckington, and R. V. Carpenter, vice-presidents; Fred Hall, treasurer; and Arthur Tripp, director. Other directors, previously elected, are E. B. Glass, Fred C. Keeler, and Mrs. Alva McMaster.

The spirit of the Gay Nineties permeated the dinner meeting which the Society held in Belvidere on January 29. On this occasion the hundred or so business and professional men who were given prominent mention in Frank T. Moran's book, *Belvidere Illustrated*, published in 1896, were given special recognition. Less than twenty of these are still surviving but several were in attendance. Many other old-timers were present, some of them appearing in costumes of the early days. Speeches and song hits of the 1890's were a part of the program which was planned by Judge R. V. Carpenter.

Members of the Bureau County Historical Society presented a program at the meeting of the Princeton Woman's Club on November 27, 1939. "Early Fur Traders in Bureau County" was the title of the paper prepared by Joseph Showalter and read by Mrs. John Skinner; "How Bureau County Towns got their Names" was presented by Miss Grace M. Bryant; and E. B. Cushing discussed "The History of the Settlement of Providence."

The Cahokia Historical Society held a tea at the Catholic Community House in East St. Louis early in December with Miss Josephine Boylan acting as hostess. Miss Ruth Farris gave a talk on "Steamboat Tales."

Restoration work on the old courthouse, which was built at Cahokia in 1716 and has been dismantled and moved three times, is now nearing completion. It was exhibited at the World's Fair in St. Louis and in 1906 was placed on display in Jackson Park in Chicago. Now removed to its original site, the State of Illinois has taken over the work of restoring and maintaining it.

The Chicago Lawn Historical Society planned a program of community interest for its meeting on January 18 in the Marquette Park fieldhouse. Highlights in the history of Marquette Park, the Chicago Municipal Airport, and the Chicago Lawn Post Office were reviewed. A series of articles on the early history of the community was recently published in the *Southwest News*.

The third annual dinner meeting of the Englewood Historical Association was held in the Englewood Y. M. C. A. on December 5, 1939.

The proper marking of the site of old Fort Dearborn will be undertaken by a commission recently established for that purpose in Chicago. Colonel Harry A. Musham, historian of the fort, is chairman of the group.

The eighteenth annual dinner meeting of the Kenilworth Historical Society was held at the Kenilworth Club on November 15, 1939. The retiring president, Mrs. Harry P. Harrison, presided and Herbert B. Taylor was chairman of the entertainment.

New officers elected at this time include the following: James H. Prentiss, president; Major Reed G. Landis, vice-president; Miss Ruth Harrison, secretary-treasurer; Mrs. James R. D. Stevenson, historian; and Mrs. Charles Ware, custodian of archives. The Society is composed of people who have been residents of the village for twenty years or longer.

Members of the South Shore Historical Society held the first meeting of the new year on January 11. An "Information Please" type of program concerning the community, people, places, and events of the past, was the feature of the evening's entertainment.

The following persons direct the activities of the South Shore organization: Arthur J. Barnsback, president; Ruth Brown Phillips, vice-president; Helen S. Babcock, secretary; and Harry Kriewitz, treasurer.

Past events in the history of Chicago, as well as possible future events, were portrayed in a pageant presented at the meeting of the West Side Historical Society on February 5. Members of the high school chapters of the Society took part in the performance. The principal speech on the evening's program was made by Colonel Alvah Curtis Roebuck.

In spite of a severe snowstorm about four hundred persons attended the Drama League of Chicago's dinner in honor of Raymond Massey, star of "Abe Lincoln in Illinois," on January 14. Mrs. Paul Steinbrecher, president of the Drama League, introduced Nathaniel Leverone, who acted as toastmaster. Besides the guest of honor, the speakers included Frank J. Loesch, James Rosenthal, Clara Laughlin, Margaret Ayer Barnes, Bertha Bauer, John C. Lewe, Logan Hay, Louis Warren, John Pollock, Otto Eisenschiml, Clint Clay Tilton, Ashton Stevens, James A. James, and Paul M. Angle. Interest in the theater and interest in the life of Lincoln combined to draw a notable audience.

A memorial boulder marking the grave of Charles Denny, Revolutionary War soldier buried in the Pioneer Memorial Cemetery near Mokena, was dedicated on November 11, 1939. Denny was buried in this little plot in August, 1839. The General Henry Dearborn chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, of Chicago, provided the marker. Mrs. Eugene Rogers, regent, was in charge of the dedicatory exercises.

A hollow log watering trough of black walnut, which has been in the possession of Louis E. Lloyd of DeKalb County, was recently presented to New Salem State Park. The contribution was made in the name of the DeKalb County Historical Society of which Mr. Lloyd is president. It will probably be placed at the old well behind the Ann Rutledge Tavern in the Park.

The DesPlaines Historical Society held its annual meeting on November 21, 1939. Colonel Harry Musham, Chicago, was the guest speaker. Membership in the Society, which costs $1.00 per year, includes a subscription to the *DesPlaines Historical Quarterly*, a publication started in 1939.

The Edwards County Historical Society, recently organized, has been devoting its meetings to a study of the early history of Albion and community. George Flower's *History of the English Settlement in Edwards County* has been used as a basis for discussion.

Though only a few months have elapsed since the Society was organized and the collection of exhibits for its museum was started, articles of historical interest have been accumulated so rapidly that the present display room has already become inadequate. It is hoped that larger quarters may soon be obtained.

The Evanston Historical Society opened the fall season with a meeting on November 21 which was attended by more than a hundred persons. Professor James Taft Hatfield presented some new information concerning the Green Bay Trail—a mail and passenger route which played an important part in the early history of Evanston. At this meeting too, a diorama depicting Evanston's first post office, formerly known as Buckeye Tavern, was presented to the Society by Miss Harriet Smith, supervisor of the Illinois State museum project. The diorama, now a permanent possession of the Society, is on display in its museum in the Evanston Library.

At the meeting of the Evanston group on January 23, Dr. James Alton James, president of the Illinois State Historical Society, spoke on "Records, Recently Discovered, of Two Thrilling Adventures in Arctic Exploration." The journals he discussed were those of Robert Kennicott and Henry M. Bannister, both at one time connected with Northwestern University.

Though the Evanston Historical Society has been in existence for forty years, it had never had a publication of its own until November, 1939. At that time an "Evanston Historical Scribe" organization was formed by a group of high school students who plan

to issue a mimeographed publication every month. These students have also undertaken the care of the historical room in the Library and are making copies of all manuscripts on file. In addition they are repairing and labeling books which have been donated to the Society.

Members of the Glencoe Historical Society recalled the early days at a "social "held on November 28. Mrs. John A. Grant is president of the Society.

The LaGrange Historical Society met at the High School on December 11 and heard reports from the special committees which have been securing information and records of historical value. Mrs. A. C. Dallach is chairman of the group which is collecting the materials. An exhibit will be held sometime during the late winter or early spring.

A marker was placed in the yard of Mrs. Ethel Norlin's home at LaHarpe on December 9, 1939 to commemorate the fact that Abraham Lincoln spent the night of October 23, 1858 in that home. The house at this location was then occupied by Calvin King. Mrs. Pauline King Kemp, a granddaughter of the late Calvin King, was present at the dedication ceremonies, which were under the auspices of the Rene Cossitt, Jr. chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

The life of Colonel John Dement was reviewed for members of the Lee County Historical Society at their November meeting in Dixon. Miss Lucia W. Dement, granddaughter of Colonel Dement, was the speaker. The program was opened by E. E. Wingert with an appreciation of the life and work of Frank E. Stevens (January 5, 1856–October 16, 1939), who was a charter member of the Society.

"Dixon's Schools—Public and Private—1833-1940" was the subject Miss Esther M. Barton discussed at the January meeting of

the Lee County group. Preceding the program the following officers were elected for 1940: E. E. Wingert, president; Mrs. Willard Thompson, vice-president; Clyde Buckingham, secretary-treasurer.

Carl Vrooman, recently returned from England, gave his impressions of the European situation to members of the McLean County Historical Society on December 18, 1939. The meeting was held in Bloomington.

An extensive collection of historical exhibits may be found in the museum which the Society established in 1892. There are now 1,373 pieces in the collection. In addition a historical library of considerable importance is operated by the Society. Here the files of the *Daily Pantagraph* are complete back to 1854 and city directories are intact to 1856. The museum and library, located in the McBarnes Memorial Building in Bloomington, are open to the public every day except Sunday. The McLean County Board of Supervisors assists the work of the Historical Society by appropriating $500 annually to help defray expenses.

The Macon County Historical Society met in Decatur on January 18. Webber Borchers, president, reported on the historical records project now underway at the courthouse. The work of copying early county records is being done by W.P.A. employees. Marriage records for the first twenty years of the county's history have already been listed. These will be indexed when the work is completed. Individual family histories will also be compiled in cases where sufficient records are available.

When the Morgan County Historical Society met on November 10, 1939, two Lincoln campaign banners which had been recently discovered in a Jacksonville attic were on display. The Society is attempting to secure permanent possession of the banners. Speakers on this occasion were Dwight F. Clark, Evanston, and Paul M. Angle, Springfield.

Grant Foreman, of Muskogee, Oklahoma, was the guest speaker at the dinner meeting of the Society on December 5. "Notes on Illinois History" was the subject of his address.

The annual banquet of the Morgan County organization was held in Jacksonville on January 18. Bruce Wheeler of Springfield spoke on "The Education of Abraham Lincoln." Three members of the board were chosen at this time: Dr. R. O. Stoops and Miss Margaret K. Moore were re-elected and Mrs. George L. Drennan was chosen to fill a third vacancy.

The Madison County Historical Society held its annual meeting in Edwardsville on December 2, 1939. "The Curtiss Blakeman Family at Marine" was the subject of the address given by J. Alonzo Matthews, St. Louis. Paul B. Cousley, editor of the *Alton Telegraph*, discussed the value of the index to the *Telegraph* files which is now being compiled. In the absence of E. W. Burroughs, his report on historical points of interest in the county was read by Miss Ruth Miller.

During the business session the following officers were elected: H. P. S. Smith, president; Mrs. Mark Henson, first vice-president; N. G. Flagg, second vice-president; Douglas E. Dale, secretary; E. W. Ellis, treasurer; Mrs. Annie C. Burton, historian. Six directors were elected: H. P. S. Smith, Mrs. Viola Edwards, Mrs. Agnes Keown McKee, W. L. Waters, John Camp, and Mrs. Harry Meyer.

The number of items in the historical exhibit of the Society has increased to such an extent that larger museum quarters have become necessary. Accordingly, in December, 1939, an exchange of the historical museum and grand jury rooms in the courthouse was authorized by the Board of Supervisors. The Society is in need of filing cabinets and display cases to be used in its new quarters.

When the Peoria Historical Society met on November 20, 1939, Edward N. Woodruff, former mayor of the city, discussed municipal government in Peoria. At the December meeting of the Society, E. C. Bessler described the first public school in Peoria and H. L. Spooner talked on "Early Pioneer Life in Illinois."

Members of the Riverside Historical Society heard reminiscences of early days in the village when they assembled on January 12. Mrs. Frank Stahle, Miss Mary Sullivan, Willard Halliday, and Mrs. E. H. Bangs were the speakers on this occasion.

The annual dinner meeting of the Rock Island County Historical Society was held on February 21 at Andreen Hall, Augustana College. Since this is the eightieth anniversary year of the college a special program commemorating the founding of the institution was arranged. Dr. Conrad Bergendoff, president of Augustana College, and Professor I. O. Nothstein of the college library staff, were the chief speakers. Professor H. F. Staack was chairman of the arrangements committee.

Two hundred charter members have now been enrolled by the Schuyler County Historical Association which was revived and reorganized in the fall of 1939. One of these members, Wheeler W. Moore, summarizes the aims and purposes of the organization in an article published in the *Rushville Times*. Because these objectives might well be adopted by any such group, his concluding statements are quoted here: "I would say the purpose of the organization is to revive and create an interest in Schuyler county history, promote historical research and study and preserve valuable collections of documents, manuscripts and bibliographical contributions, and keep abreast of the historical work of the world, and the sympathetic approval of its progress as conceived from public opinion."

A Southern Illinois Historical Society was organized on November 16 at Carbondale. Seventeen different cities, extending from Salem to Cairo, were represented at the initial meeting which was arranged by members of the Department of History of the Southern Illinois Normal University. E. G. Lentz, dean at Southern Illinois Normal, and Paul M. Angle, secretary-treasurer of the Illinois State Historical Society, were the chief speakers on this occasion.

At the election of officers for the new Society the following persons were elected: Richard L. Beyer, president; T. J. Layman, first vice-president; I. O. Karraker, second vice-president; E. G. Lentz, secretary; and N. W. Draper, treasurer. Directors include the following: L. O. Trigg, L. A. Sanders, Miss Mary Roberson, Mrs. Julius P. Schuh, Miss Elizabeth H. Moore, H. J. Funke, and Clarence Bonnell.

The Society expects to assist in the plans for the annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society to be held in Carbondale in May.

A campaign to secure new members for the Warren County Historical Society was started in November, 1939. Dues are $1.00 per year. The Society is in need of additional funds to continue its work of reconditioning some of the old cemeteries in rural districts of the county. In December the Warren County Board of Supervisors rendered valuable assistance by appropriating $100 to be used in furthering this work.

"Wake up, Winnetka! Time to know your history!" was the slogan of the fall meeting of the Winnetka Historical Society when a group of "experts" answered numerous questions on an "Information Please" program. An imaginary tallyho ride through early Winnetka was also a part of the program, with Wallace Rumsey conducting the tour.

The mid-year meeting of the Society took the form of an "Old Fashioned Dinner" served to 156 people at the Winnetka Woman's Club on January 25. The tables were set and decorated in antique style and many of the guests appeared in costumes of the 1880's. The chief feature of the program following the dinner was the showing of pictures of Winnetka's beauty spots by Robert Doepel, Davies Lazear, and Frank Windes.

## CONTRIBUTORS

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# STREETERVILLE SAGA

BY KENNETH F. BROOMELL AND HARLOW M. CHURCH

IN its short, turbulent history Chicago has never witnessed the equal of Captain George Wellington Streeter. For thirty years he claimed, by right of original discovery, the fabulously valuable 186-acre tract of land running from the river north to Lincoln Park and from Michigan Boulevard east to Lake Michigan—the area which now comprises the better part of Chicago's famed Gold Coast. This glittering, flood-lit galaxy of skyscrapers, towering apartment hotels, universities and hospitals now rises above the site of his "District of Lake Michigan," and it seems strange that so little is now remembered of the bitter fight for it that was staged on Chicago's lake front.

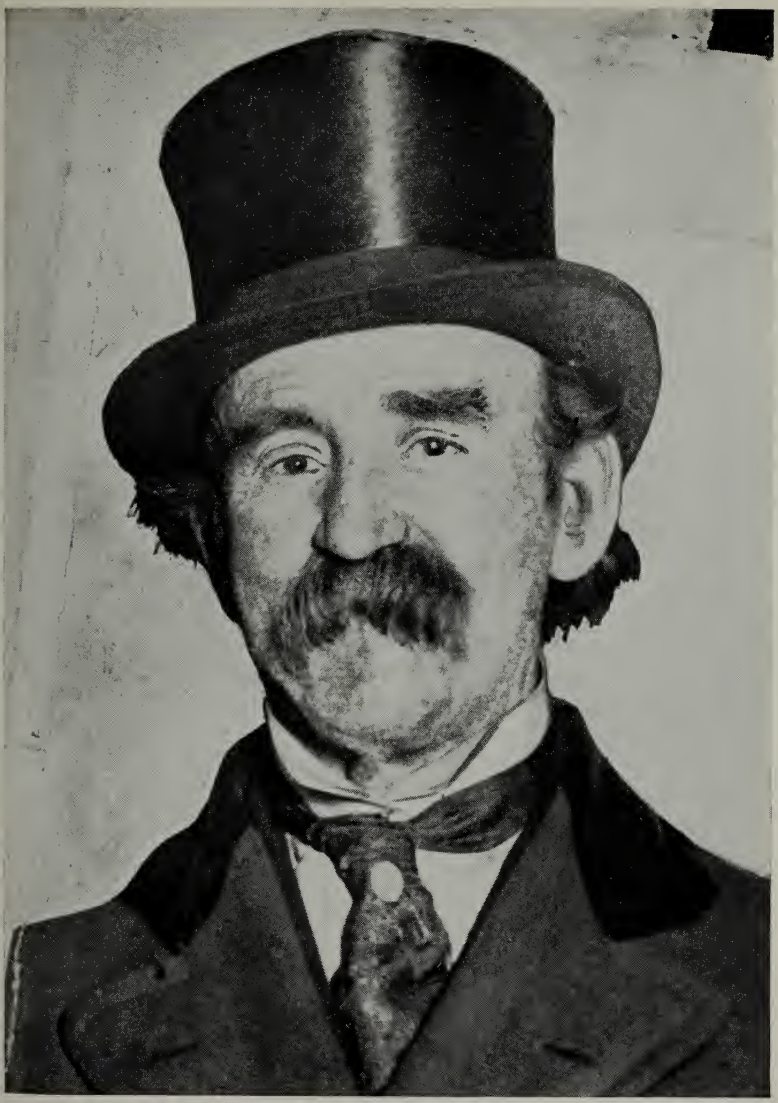
With such an empire at stake there were many to dispute his claim. Wealthy owners of adjoining lands who sought to extend their riparian rights to include the "District" and title companies whose futures were at stake, should "Cap's" title be proved, were among those who brought all the influence and brute force that they could wield against him. He defended his land against all claimants, exchanged shot for shot, blow for blow, suit for suit. Even his death has not stilled title companies' shudders at the ghosts that may yet arise from their closely guarded archives or from the dusty dockets of the courts.

Cap's first appearance in Chicago was tranquil enough. After a varied career as Mississippi River steamboat pilot, circus proprietor and Civil War fighter he acquired a half-interest in Chicago's Apollo Theatre. His unusual appearance and manner soon made him an object of curiosity to early Chicagoans.

A battered stovepipe hat always perched precariously on his bald head, and a tobacco-stained, rusty-green frock coat several sizes too large dangled from his lean shoulders. Never a temperate man, his voice could be heard above the rest in tavern and saloon, his salty, profanity-tinged opinions attracting admiring audiences. He regaled all who would listen with tales in which, oddly enough, the hero was always named Streeter. Few there were who did not doubt their verity, but there were few who would not listen. Little did he know that his wildest tale was not a shadow on the adventures that were soon to befall him.

In the eighties a soldier of fortune, returned laden with ill-gotten money from Central American wars, gave Cap some valuable information. Honduras would soon be ablaze with revolt and a fortune could be made running arms to the rebellious factions from New Orleans. After the war a profitable concession could be wangled from the victor.

The Captain was never one to allow golden opportunity to pass unheeded. He sold his none too profitable theatre interest, bought an old hull in a local shipyard, and worked all the spring and early summer of 1886 to fit it for ocean travel. July tenth found him making a final test of his vessel's seaworthiness before venturing into southern waters. A gale from the north, the revolution in Honduras and a treacherous sand bar then com-



"Cap" Streeter as he Appeared about 1915

bined their destinies to lead the gallant captain to the promised land.

It was typical of Cap that he chose the wildest, stormiest day of the season for his test voyage. "If she won't weather a lake squall, she won't weather a gulf hurricane," he told his wife and with no further ado he cast off for Milwaukee with the few passengers he had been able to interest in the trip. Bravely the freshly christened *Reutan* wallowed through mountainous waves that threatened every minute to engulf it. The passengers were so thoroughly frightened when they finally docked in Milwaukee that not one would risk the return trip.

It took more than a storm to daunt the Captain. Pulling his stovepipe hat down over his ears and biting off a fresh chew he again took the helm. With his mustache and coat tails whipping in the wind, he turned the vessel about and headed into the teeth of the gale for Chicago—and almost made it.

The dawn of the next day revealed the vessel shipwrecked, having foundered during the night on a sandbar two hundred yards off shore and about a mile north of the center of Chicago. He and his wife Maria had spent a harrowing night. Tremendous waves had dashed in every hatch and swept destruction through the ship from stem to stern. Twice Cap had been swept overboard and had fought, hand over hand, to pull himself back by the anchor rope. But the experiences of the night resulted in the birth of the biggest idea he ever had in his life and the one destined to make him famous. He decided that he would stay stuck and that the sand bar would be his front yard.

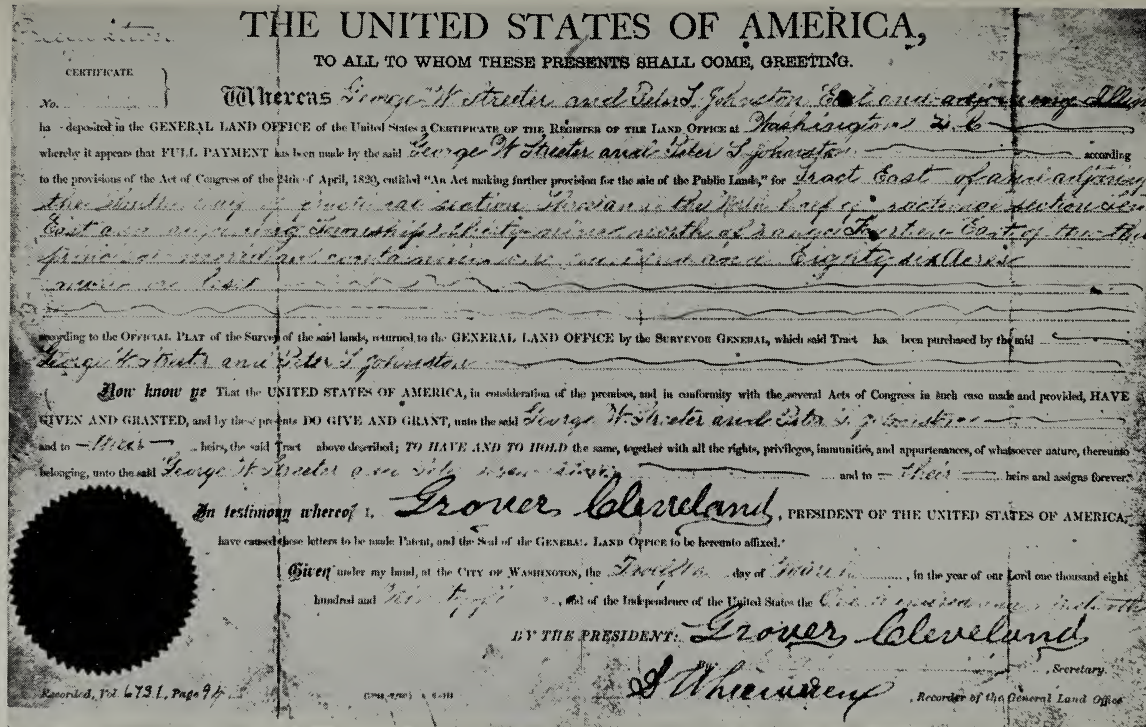
Forgotten were the troubles of Central American re-

publics. Cap's ship was now his home. Propping up the boat with timbers, he started to fill in the shallow water around it. Soon he had a small piece of land on the lake front which he enlarged by inducing city scavengers to use as a dumping ground and paying him for the privilege. The sands of Lake Michigan sifted in around the hull and he was soon in possession of a good-sized tract of land.

At first there were none to argue possession. Chicago had always thought of the shore north of the river as a shanty district, peopled by squatters and the riffraff of the underworld, supported by bawdy houses and unsavory saloons. Public-spirited citizens, alarmed "by the desperate characters who had made these dens their homes," had once swept down upon these sands, driven off the inhabitants, and burned the section to the ground. Afterwards, fishermen built shanties and stretched their nets on the sand so the land, once evil in repute, became evil of odor.

It was not until after the famed Columbian Exposition in 1893, during which Cap did a thriving business selling sections of his land to natives and visitors, that the owners of the land on what had been the lake shore realized the value of Streeter's land. A few wealthy families had ventured to build imposing homes north of the river, and the proximity of the hard-drinking, profane Captain whose home was practically in their front yards offended them. Not at all sure of their legal rights, they did not at first resort to the courts to oust him.

In 1899, five "constables" hired by the wealthy landowners sought to evict Cap and his wife from their home. Cap drove them away at gun's point. A few days



THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, GREETING:

CERTIFICATE No. ......

Whereas George W. Streeter and Peter L. Johnston [illegible]

ha deposited in the GENERAL LAND OFFICE of the United States a Certificate of the Register of the Land Office at Washington D.C.

whereby it appears that FULL PAYMENT has been made by the said George W. Streeter and Peter L. Johnston according

to the provisions of the Act of Congress of the 24th of April, 1820, entitled "An Act making further provision for the sale of the Public Lands," for Tract East of and adjoining [illegible] Twenty [illegible] containing [illegible] and Eighty [illegible] Acres [illegible]

according to the Official Plat of the Survey of the said lands, returned to the GENERAL LAND OFFICE by the Surveyor General, which said Tract ha been purchased by the said George W. Streeter and Peter L. Johnston

**Now know ye** That the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in consideration of the premises, and in conformity with the several Acts of Congress in such case made and provided, HAVE GIVEN AND GRANTED, and by these presents DO GIVE AND GRANT, unto the said George W. Streeter and Peter L. Johnston

and to their heirs, the said Tract above described; TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the same, together with all the rights, privileges, immunities, and appurtenances, of whatsoever nature, thereunto belonging, unto the said George W. Streeter and Peter L. Johnston and to their heirs and assigns forever.

**In testimony whereof** I, Grover Cleveland, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, have caused these letters to be made Patent, and the Seal of the General Land Office to be hereunto affixed.

**Given** under my hand, at the City of Washington, the [illegible] day of [illegible], in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and [illegible], and of the Independence of the United States the [illegible].

BY THE PRESIDENT: Grover Cleveland

[illegible], Secretary.

[illegible], Recorder of the General Land Office.

Recorded, Vol. 673 L, Page 9[illegible]

The Basis of Streeter's Claim to Streeterville

later the city police, in a coup extraordinary, managed to capture Cap in an unguarded moment. The next instant Maria Streeter poured a kettle full of boiling water on the police from the second story of their "castle" and in the ensuing confusion Cap grabbed his rifle and the battle was over. The attackers made a hasty retreat.

Cap was too shrewd merely to rely on force to hold his land. He discovered a survey made by the United States government in 1821 which showed the shore line of Lake Michigan considerably farther west than subsequent surveys indicated. Cap maintained that the shore line on the survey was the boundary of the State of Illinois and that as he had settled east of the old line he was outside of the State of Illinois, the County of Cook and the City of Chicago. He then negotiated "treaties" with a few alleged descendants of the original Potawatomi Indians and "bought" the land from them. He declared that on the strength of his claims the government had issued him a patent on March 12, 1895 which vested sole title to the land in him. The patent and the records in Washington disappeared and Cap snorted that his enemies had inspired their disappearance.

Dubbing his land the "District of Lake Michigan," he proclaimed himself "Territorial Governor" and vowed to pay allegiance only to the federal government. He appointed an old crony, William Niles, "Military Governor," and promised that the boundaries of his territory would be maintained if he had to mobilize an army to shoot every hostile trespasser.

The public laughed; title companies that had guaranteed against the Captain muttered dire threats; and the adjacent landowners, appreciating the increasing

value of the property, trebled their efforts to exile the Captain from his "District." It wasn't long before Barney Baer, captain of police, decided to inspect affairs in the District. The military governor, recognizing him as an agent of a hostile city, sent two bullets crashing through the officer's buggy. Unharmed but frightened, Barney Baer galloped into Chicago for safety.

Title companies beat their breasts at the "anarchy prevailing on the lake front." While all Chicago chuckled and secretly sympathized with the picturesque Captain, the police laid plans to capture the District by storm. Five hundred policemen cautiously approached the territory only to find themselves outwitted.

Having been warned of their move, Cap and his military governor had recruited a motley army of hobos, squatters and adventurers, who, during the night, had dug trenches and erected barricades. A few ancient guns were mounted on the ramparts, and members of the army were issued clubs, rakes, stones, and an occasional rifle as instruments of defense. The nation was breathless at the prospect of the nearest approach to civil war the country had seen since the first shot was fired on Fort Sumter. Anyway, Cap and his military governor pictured it this way.

Blowing his whistle, the captain of police signaled for the first charge. Cap's army held its fire until the first enemy foot had been placed on its soil. Only then did he allow his military governor to give the order to fire. Muskets and rifles roared a volley, a hail of bullets and stones rained on the police. The police captain, a bullet hole in his hat and bruises on his face and body, instantly ordered his men to fall back out of range. Sore and discomfited, the bluecoats retreated.

"Cap" Streeter Looking Over His Shotgun
During one of his early and many court appearances

A sorely puzzled group of police officers gathered to draw up new plans of battle. This was a situation unique in police annals. It was one thing to subdue an occasional bad man or quell a small riot; but this was open warfare, not riot, and there was nothing in the policemen's guide book that explained what procedure to follow in the situation. Plan after plan was suggested but none seemed to fit the need of the occasion; and it is sad to relate that their very procrastination saved the day.

While the police dallied, the afternoon melted into evening. The District's army, expecting another attack, was confused when none ensued. Rumor after rumor swept through the ranks—the regular army had been called out—artillery was on the way—the Governor was coming to direct the attack in person. The less courageous lost heart and deserted. One by one, as the afternoon wore on and the suspense grew unbearable, the army diminished. By evening only Cap and his military governor were left to defend the District. Observing this, the police overwhelmed them, beat William Niles unmercifully and put Cap in jail. Then came the inevitable anticlimax. The police were embarrassed by a lack of anything tangible for which to prosecute Cap and he was freed in a few hours.

Scarcely a month later, one Samuel Avery, who had somehow incurred the Captain's ire, was roundly peppered with fine bird shot in the place where bird shot would most inconvenience him. Again Cap was hauled off to jail, but he made such a notable defense of his act that he was acquitted.

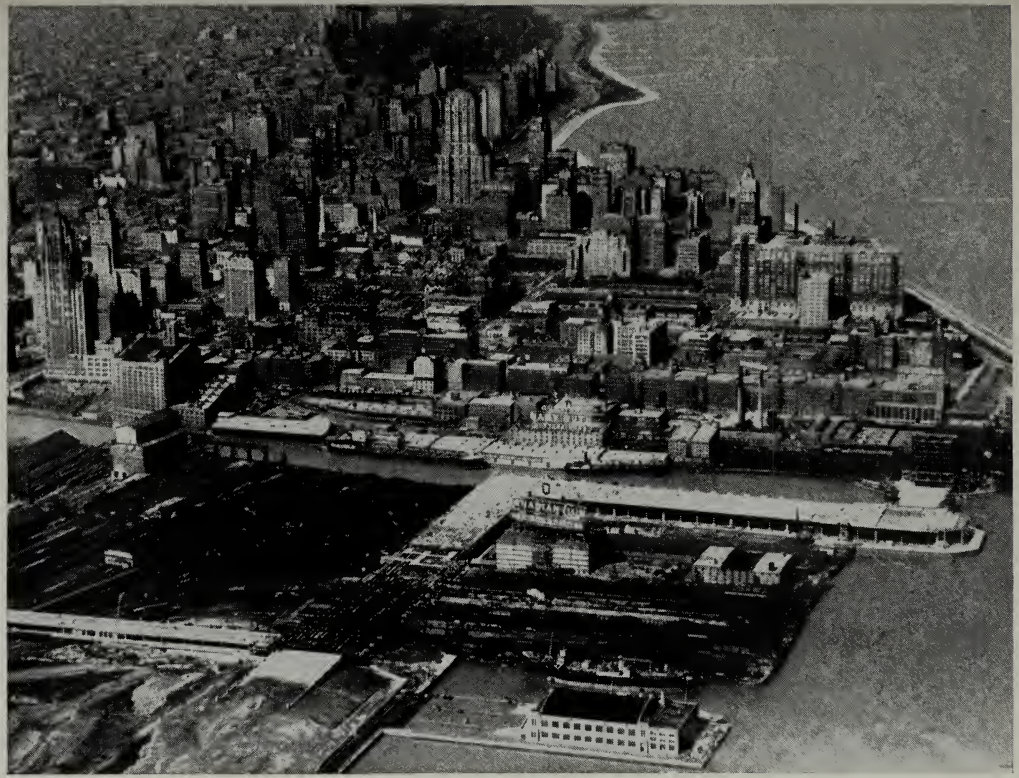
Streeter was then at the height of his prosperity. The fact that after many court battles he was still in possession of his land made it appear that the courts

had sustained his claim and this sent him many buyers. The fact that the landowners along the old shore line had subdivided the same land and were selling lots, too, meant inevitably more trouble than we have yet described.

In March, 1902, one John Kirk was killed in the District. The final truth of this killing has never been brought to light. Cap always claimed that the landowners had hired Kirk to kill him and that, by mistake or malice aforethought, Kirk had been shot by another gang of thugs hired by the same landowners. The first jury disagreed and Cap languished in jail for an entire year awaiting a new trial. The second jury returned a guilty verdict and Cap was sentenced to life imprisonment.

There were many who believed Cap had been "railroaded" to prison. In less than a year Governor Altgeld made a personal investigation of the case and gave Cap an unconditional pardon. But the years had been long, and much had happened in the District during his absence. His doughty wife, Maria, who had fought at his side through many a midnight skirmish, was dead—her heart broken at the thought of Cap's spending the rest of his life in prison. The growing city was encroaching farther and farther, hostile forces had made their invasion, built new buildings, paved streets and started interminable suits at law to oust Streeter and his interests for all time.

In April, 1905 he took a second wife who became known to all Chicago as "Ma" Streeter. The pair settled in the District and carried on the fight. Ma was as staunch a defender of Streeterville as his first wife, Maria, had been. So staunch in fact that she shot Ser-



Chicago's Lake Front District Today
Streeterville comprised much of the area north of the river

geant George Cudmore twice in the base of the neck because he tried to evict them.

The World War period brought further trouble for Cap. The sale of liquor was prohibited in Chicago on Sundays. As a result Cap did a thriving business in Streeterville selling liquor on Sundays and at any time of the day or night because he had a federal liquor permit and denied the right of the city authorities to interfere with his business. Sergeant William Freeman of the Chicago police came out to see Streeter one day to tell him that he would have to purchase a city license and discontinue the sale of liquor at prohibited times. Cap's answer to that was simple: at bayonet point Sergeant Freeman was driven from the District and Cap sat down at once to draft a letter to President Wilson demanding that the federal government send military aid to protect his territory from the hostile city of Chicago.

But the President paid no attention and Cap was hailed into court, charged with selling liquor without a license and assaulting a policeman with a deadly weapon. When the case was tried Streeter turned lawyer on his own behalf when his attorney was ruled out on technical grounds. For a moment he stood eyeing the jury as he rubbed the sore spot on his scalp where a policeman's revolver had cut it open.

"Gentlemen of the jury," he began, "you have heard how these big duffers of policemen fell on me, beat me, kicked me when I was down. Now this sort of thing has been going on for thirty years!"

"Object!" shrieked the state's attorney.

"Well, it's true, ain't it? But let it go at that. I'll stick to the evidence that shows that for the last thirty years the police have been jumping on me but I never

took the law into my own hands. Contrarywise, I have gone into court again and again and beat them at their own game. They have burned down twelve houses in the Deestrict [Cap always pronounced it this way] and tried to kill me and railroad me to the penitentiary to get me out of the way. But I'm not seeking your sympathy. All I want is justice. That's all, I reckon, gentlemen. Just justice."

Cap mopped his head and sat down. Shortly the jury returned with the verdict, "Not Guilty."

But the star of empire had faded. From complete possession of the District he lapsed into partial possession. Police were getting harder and harder to combat. His suits for recovery of the land languished in the courts. Cap was growing older, too, though he was not lacking in vigor. An agonized parking-lot owner told a tale in court of the lot he had rented for accommodation of Billy Sunday's worshipers. Business was excellent until one evening Cap, bayoneted rifle in hand, forced him out and collected the revenues himself. Police protection was asked by a construction company to prevent Cap from stopping the construction of a board fence. Only after violent opposition was a windmill which had been erected by Cap—shades of Don Quixote—torn down by a squad of deputy sheriffs.

But the end was near. On December 10, 1918, Cap's "castle" on Chestnut Street near the lake was wrecked by agents of the Chicago Title and Trust Company, acting under a legal writ. Deputy sheriffs, under the guise of prospective lot buyers, had made Cap's acquaintance a few days before. When they called to do the razing, Cap was unsuspicious and they seized his arsenal before he knew what was happening. Ma Streeter charged

"Ma" Streeter
Standing before her houseboat, *The Vamoose*, in 1923

with a meat cleaver, but was disarmed.

Workmen began wrecking the "castle" and moving Streeter possessions streetward. By night nothing was left but scattered bricks and a bonfire. Cap and Ma shivered and sought warmth from the flames.

"I'll have the law on 'em," swore Cap. "The fight ain't begun yet. It's mobs that tore down my home. The State of Illinois ain't got no right in here but it's sent mobs to wreck my home!"

"Where are you going to spend the night?" asked a reporter.

"We got a good campfire here," interposed Ma.

"We'll stay here until hell freezes over," returned Cap.

"What are you going to do with the furniture?"

"Leave it in the street until I hear from the President. The State of Illinois ain't got no right here anyhow. This is the Deestrict of Lake Michigan."

Again the President turned a deaf ear and Cap was forced out of the District to retire to his last line of defense—a houseboat on the Calumet River. Until the moment of his death in January, 1921, he breathed defiance. "It's hard for a poor man to get any redress in this here country because the judges is controlled by capitalists," snorted the Captain on one occasion. "The courts have tried to get me on everything but adultery, an' I beat 'em every time!"

His patent from President Cleveland was declared a forgery and his "treaties" with the Potawatomi Indians were laughed out of court. But Cap was magnificent in defeat. Never for an instant did he give up the fight against the powers that had ousted him, and in defeat he made a more stirring figure than he might

have made in victory.

Cap's battle was with more than mere men. As an individual he tried to stem the tide of civilization—and came near succeeding. Civilization swept by and didn't touch him. To the end, the whole world was a frontier and he never realized that he was the lone survivor of another day.

"It's no use talking," said Cap. "Streeterville won't never have a Chamber of Commerce until it has its cabaret. This is a frontier town and it's got to go through its red-blooded youth. A church and a W.C. T.U. never growed a big town yet. You've got to start with entertainment."

Cap Streeter is dead now—buried, top hat and all, far from his beloved "Deestrict." All the dreams he had for the empire which he wrested from the chill waters of Lake Michigan are buried with him. Other men with dreams have come along, and slowly from the sands of the old "Deestrict" a new empire has risen—an empire of concrete and steel and asphalt.

But somehow we can't rid ourselves of the feeling that some night when the fog is rolling in from the lake, we'll walk along the lake shore. Cap Streeter is going to appear out of the shadows, silk hat, frock coat and all, thrust his bayoneted rifle under our noses and shout: "This is the Deestrict of Lake Michigan. Now git the hell outa here as fast as you can!"

And we'll "git."

A Scene at Streeter's Funeral

## SOURCES

It is impossible to list a bibliography on Captain Streeter because of the dearth of material on the subject. The files of the Chicago Historical Society yield nothing, and the many histories of Chicago pay scant attention to the subject of Streeterville.

The authors obtained their information from the files of the *Chicago Tribune* and *Chicago Daily News*, which were placed at their disposal, from the Streeter biography written by Everett Guy Ballard, Streeter's attorney, and from many conversations with Chicago old-timers who remembered well the hectic history of the "Deestrict." Long hours spent searching litigation and court files, police records, and the files of the Chicago Title and Trust Company also proved extremely valuable in shedding light on many phases of the Captain's career.

THE AUTHORS.

# A POET'S MOTHER

## Sarah Snell Bryant in Illinois

BY GEORGE V. BOHMAN

SARAH Snell Bryant, the mother of William Cullen Bryant, was a notable *emigré* to Illinois. Although the files of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* often mention the Bryants in Illinois, although the political activities of Cyrus, Arthur, and especially John Bryant are part of the history of the Republican Party and the anti-monopoly movement in this state, and although two of the Bryants—John and Arthur—were authors of books,[1] yet the mother, who lived with these sons during the last twelve years of her life, has received scant attention from Illinois historians. It is almost equally true that biographers and literary historians, anxious as they are to include significant material regarding the early life of the poet, have been unable to add greatly to the brief sketch written by the poet himself in his short autobiography, and but slightly amplified by Parke Godwin upon the basis of information from John and Arthur Bryant.[2]

Why should Mrs. Bryant have chosen to spend her last years in Illinois? Does it not seem strange that an

[1] John Howard Bryant, *Poems* (New York, 1855, and Princeton, Ill., 1885, 1894); Arthur Bryant, *Forest Trees for Shelter, Ornament, and Profit* (New York, 1871).

[2] See Parke Godwin, *A Biography of William Cullen Bryant* (New York, 1883), I:4 ff., for the autobiographical sketch insofar as it relates to the mother, and *ibid.*, 51, 57 for Godwin's remarks. Succeeding biographers have relied almost entirely upon this source.

elderly lady of sixty-seven, established in a comfortable home, "the most pleasant place in the town . . . good fruit trees, and many pleasant shades" should deliberately leave her friends, "and the many comforts and conveniences which I shall not find where I am going nor can I expect to . . . for some years," to make a tedious, fatiguing journey of more than a thousand miles, to a new home on the thinly settled prairie of northern Illinois? Her answer to that query, evidently raised by all her relatives and friends in western Massachusetts, was realistic. "I think little about leaving those with whom I was never connected—I tell them when they mourn about our going away there is not one of them would give nine pence to have us stay." She did regret leaving her brother, sisters-in-law, and cousins in Brookfield, Enfield, and Cummington, but she felt a stronger responsibility to her ailing daughter, Charity Louisa, and to her eldest son, Austin, who was having a difficult time making a living from the rapidly depleting soil on the Cummington hillsides. "I think it best for my children and grandchildren," she finally wrote, "to leave the place; we cannot always tell what is for the best but Illi[nois] is fast filling up; some very respectable people are going in almost every day."[3]

Moreover, the rigors of pioneering in a new land were not entirely new for Sarah Bryant. This first child of Ebenezer and Sarah (Packard) Snell was born in North Bridgewater, Massachusetts on December 4, 1768.[4] Four and five generations of her ancestors had lived content-

[3] Letters of Sarah S. Bryant to Charity Bryant from Brookfield, Mass., March 28, 1835 and Cummington, Mass., Jan. 21, 1835.

[4] Godwin, *Bryant*, I: 48. *The Vital Records of Bridgewater, Mass.* (Boston, 1916) fails to state the date. Nahum Mitchell, *History of the Early Settlement of Bridgewater* (Boston, 1840) is also indefinite. Her mother and father, who were married in 1764, were thirty and thirty-one years of age, respectively, when Sarah was born.

edly enough, it would seem, in the ancient town of Bridgewater, Massachusetts. Hers was a proud lineage —the blood of the earliest Pilgrims, the Aldens, Cooks, Mitchells, and Packards. Some of these had arrived in the *Mayflower* almost a century and a half earlier. Ebenezer Snell, however, unlike his immediate forebears and most of his own generation, was caught by the spirit of moving west just as the agitation against British measures in Boston was coming to a head in the Tea Party winter of 1773-1774. He took his family some two hundred miles to the eastern slopes of the Berkshires, just a little beyond the well-established settlements on the Connecticut River. There, in a small, twelve-year-old town called Cummington, the Snells took up a new homestead. Sarah was six years old at this time.

At first, the soil was relatively fertile and the Snells seem to have prospered moderately in spite of the Revolution that stirred even this secluded village. Perhaps the fact that these pioneer families were practically self-sufficient protected them from the economic disturbances of both the war and the chaotic years which followed. The typical home was plain, probably constructed of logs. The interior was filled with the big fireplaces, table, wooden cradle, spinning-wheel, rocking-chairs, and beds. Clothing for the most part was homespun and hand woven. The children learned to assume their share of the household duties at a very early age. In such surroundings, Sarah Snell was taught to sew, spin, weave, and cook. She received only the rudiments of elementary education, but her diaries and letters give ample evidence that she became reasonably skilled in arithmetic, reading, and writing. In his later

years, John wrote: "Amidst the hardships and privations incident to a life in the forest, she grew up to a stately womanhood. Her opportunities were necessarily limited, so far as schools and books were concerned, but she made a creditable progress in all the rudimentary branches of learning."[5]

During the succeeding years, Ebenezer Snell became a man of some importance in the little village. He purchased a second farm, built a larger and more comfortable frame house, sent his son Thomas to Dartmouth, and started the other son farming on the original homestead. Engaging in the factional squabbles of town politics, he was rewarded with the office of justice of the peace. A devoutly religious man, he was active in the old First Congregational Church which had been founded two years before the Snells arrived in Cummington.

Of Sarah's mother, Sarah Packard Snell, we know very little. William Cullen Bryant speaks of her as mild and affectionate in her old age.[6]

About 1792, when Sarah Snell was nearing twenty-four years of age, a young physician who had also been a native of Bridgewater, settled in Cummington. With his skill in medicine and surgery, young Dr. Peter Bryant seems to have combined a facility in writing verse. Whether it was the traditionally romantic verses to "sweet Sallie Snell," or his professional eminence that won the young lady, we do not know, but within the year 1792, they were married.[7]

[5] Godwin, *Bryant*, I: 57.

[6] Godwin, *Bryant*, I:11. The present Bryant homestead (i.e. second floor) is the second home Ebenezer Snell purchased, and later it was remodeled by William Cullen Bryant. See *ibid.*, 8 for W. C. Bryant's statement. See also H. E. Miller, *Sketches and Directory of the Town of Cummington* (West Cummington, Mass., 1881).

[7] The manuscripts of numerous poems by Peter Bryant are owned by Miss Grace

The first two children, Austin and William Cullen, were born in the doctor's first home in Cummington. Cullen relates that the family moved to Plainfield, a near-by village, in September, 1797, returned to Cummington in May, 1798, and finally in April, 1799, moved into the Snell home, where they lived until Mrs. Bryant and Austin's family left for Illinois in the spring of 1835.[8]

Prior to 1835, Mrs. Bryant's acquaintance with the world through travel was very slight. Her domestic duties kept her at home, and after the children were old enough for her to leave them, or take them with her, she seems to have gone no farther than Brookfield, where brother Thomas preached, or Northampton, Enfield, Amherst, and other towns in New Hampshire and the neighboring counties where her relatives lived. Dr. Bryant, on the other hand, spent two years, 1795-1797, on a luckless voyage as a surgeon on a merchant ship, and in later years he made frequent trips to Boston as a legislator, there to be especially influenced by the

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Bryant, Princeton, Illinois. Professor Tremaine McDowell, in "The Ancestry of William Cullen Bryant," *Americana*, XXII: 408-20, speculated on the possibility that Dr. Bryant's poem, "Stella of the West," (1791) might have been written to Sarah. However, another poem recently discovered in Miss Grace Bryant's collection, in the handwriting of Dr. Bryant, undated, seems to be a better example of his courtship via the muse:

Might but a friend without disguise or art,
In simple numbers, simple truth impart;
Say what would make his happiness complete;
Sally's the *fair* in whom his wishes meet.
Soft in her manner, with an honest heart
Averse to flattery, and unknown to art.
Long had I sought a friend to find
Lovely, engaging, modest and refined
Yet sought in vain till Sally fixed my mind.
She is the only object of my love
No change of fortune shall my choice remove;
Each rising day my faithfulness shall prove
Like Joseph chaste I'll live to her alone
Live in her smile, in *love* excelled by *none*!

[8] Godwin, *Bryant*, I: 4-8. Dr. Bryant died March 19, 1820.

Dr. Peter Bryant

Sarah Snell Bryant

rising Unitarian faction within the church. After the doctor's death, Mrs. Bryant and Austin's family remained in Cummington. The other sons were going to college and seeking their own careers.

Such was the comparatively uneventful story of a capable, busy housewife and mother that comprised Sarah Snell Bryant's life until she left for Illinois in her sixty-seventh year, cast for the second time in the role of a pioneer.

The decision to make the trip to Illinois was reached early in the winter of 1834-1835. John and Cyrus, and later Arthur (Rush) had praised the fertile soil, plentiful woodlands, mild winters, good water, and bountiful supplies of wild game and fruits that awaited settlers on the streams running through the prairies of northern Illinois. After a short sojourn in Jacksonville, Rush and John had built a log cabin in the fall of 1832 at a place called Bureau Grove. Cyrus joined them a year later, and all three pre-empted and purchased choice tracts including both prairie and woodland. From the first, Austin and his mother were tempted by these stories.[9] In May, 1833, Mrs. Bryant wrote: "From Albany we can go there [Illinois] nearly if not quite all by water. . . I should like very much to see the country." A year later, Austin succumbed to the urge to follow his brothers, and Mrs. Bryant thought that "Austin would go if he could sell to his mind." Cyrus, who came home from Michigan and Illinois to be married to Julia Everett in the spring

[9] Letter of Sarah S. Bryant to Cyrus Bryant, Cummington, Nov. 29, 1831 declared: "Rush says all the people in Illi[nois] who have any industry at all are gaining property fast. I wish we were in a situation to move there." In a letter of Sept. 30, 1832, she said: "If Austin should have an opportunity to sell he will go to Illi[nois]." See also letter of Sarah S. Bryant to Cyrus Bryant, March 15, 1832.

The following letters from the sons to their mother are now preserved: John and Cyrus, Bureau Grove, April 1, 1833; John, Princeton, Oct. 6, 1833; Arthur, Princeton, Dec. 24, 1833; Arthur and Henrietta (his wife), Princeton, March 3 and 5, 1834.

of 1834, spread the word that he had "no wish to come back and live on a farm" in Cummington. The land was "very productive" in Illinois. He said: "People are flocking in from the eastern states. The country is filling up fast."[10]

In one respect, particularly, Cyrus had impressed Mrs. Bryant. He looked more healthy. Because of the loss of a daughter Sarah with tuberculosis, and the repeated illnesses of Louisa, the second daughter, and the evidence of respiratory weakness throughout the family, Mrs. Bryant had hoped to find a more healthful place than Cummington. This had been one of the motives for each of the sons who had already moved west. So now Mrs. Bryant decided that "Louisa would enjoy better health, if she could go to Illi[nois], than she ever will here."[11]

When Austin had sold the farm, preparations for the migration were made. Mrs. Bryant made a series of final visits during March and early April with Thomas Snell, Charity Bryant, and other relatives before she left Cummington by stage on May 11, 1835. At Richmond, Austin and Mrs. Bryant met Austin's family, and proceeded to Albany, where they boarded the canal boat, *Amherst*. Subjected to overcrowding, crying children, and noisiness, the week's trip to Buffalo was not a comfortable one.[12] It was on the lake schooner, *Navigation*, however,

[10] Sarah S. Bryant to Charity Bryant, May 21, 1833 and June 30, 1834. John had previously married Harriet Wiswall of Jacksonville, Ill., and Arthur's wife was Henrietta Plummer of Richmond, Mass., a sister of Austin's wife.

[11] Letter of June 30, 1834. Silence Bryant, a sister-in-law, observed that sentimental reasons, too, caused Mrs. Bryant's migration: "I do not know that we can think it strange that Mrs. Bryant should wish to go to Illinois, as she now has all but one of her family near her, and it is not probable that they will wish to remove again, at present, perhaps not during her life. It will undoubtedly be pleasant for her to spend the evening of her life surrounded by her children." Silence Bryant to Charity Bryant, Enfield, Aug. 8, 1835.

[12] The boat left Albany Thursday afternoon, May 14, and arrived in Buffalo in

which they boarded at Buffalo, that sickness, the lack of fresh food, and numerous delays brought out the really strenuous character of the trip. On some days the boat rocked them until they were ill; on others they lay by, awaiting wind. Twice they stuck on a sand bar—on the St. Clair River, and at the Straits of Mackinac. The discomforts of the voyage were somewhat alleviated, however, by short stops at Detroit on the St. Clair where parties went ashore to obtain milk and bread, and at Big Beaver Island on which the men picked boxberries and greens.

After seventeen days on the lakes, the schooner arrived off the village of Chicago, and a small boat took the party, with Mrs. Bryant "so sick she could scarcely sit up" the mile to shore. They discovered that the village was "no more nor less than a swamp-hole," the hotels were crowded, and lodgings of any kind were hard to find. After hiring a man to carry them a mile through the deep mud, she said: "We slept under a roof where there were four beds in which we all slept, fourteen in number."

From Sabbath afternoon until Wednesday morning, Austin was arranging to transport the family and some of their goods to Princeton. He bought a horse for $80 to put on his wagon and hired a man to go with a team to carry the family.[13] They met with even greater privation during the four-day trip of 125 miles to Princeton.

the early dawn of May 21. Mrs. Bryant had a cough and fever before she left Cummington, added steadily to her cold every day, and lost twenty pounds before she reached Illinois. See letters to Charity Bryant, Princeton, March 31, 1836, and to Thomas Snell, June 18, 1835.

[13] Sarah S. Bryant to Thomas Snell, Princeton, June 18, 1835. The Bryants had brought 7,300 pounds of goods to Chicago. Most of these were stored, however, until Austin could return for them. He paid the teamster $44 to take the family to Princeton. A Mr. and Mrs. Pratt and their two children accompanied the Bryants on this part of the trip.

The roads were very muddy, the streams high, the fords unsatisfactory, and food and lodging generally poor. Only once does the unpleasant story change. On June 12, Mrs. Bryant recorded that after traversing a very muddy road and having no breakfast they stopped at Holderman's Grove, and she "took the first good cup of coffee I have had for a month." Their New England eyes must have sparkled when they "rode to a neat, comfortable-looking house with a dooryard and put up for the night." The following Sabbath evening, a week after their arrival in Chicago, and a month and three days after they left Cummington, the travelers arrived at Cyrus' home south of Princeton.[14]

Physically, the village of Princeton to which Mrs. Bryant came in 1835 consisted of a post office, a tavern, three stores, and a few log cabins. Not more than two or three dozen families were then living in Bureau Creek Valley. These were scattered over some five miles, in the township of Princeton. The first frame building within the village limits was only twelve feet square, and there may not have been any others completed when the Bryants arrived. Sawmills, however, were at work, and the demand for lumber was much greater than the mills could satisfy.[15] Austin Bryant immediately began a

[14] Mrs. Bryant has left three accounts of this trip: (1) A diary, the manuscript of which has not been located but which was published in the *Four-Track News* (1905), 8: 194-95 in an article entitled, "In Ye Olden Time," by Amanda Mathews, a distant relative of the Bryants; (2) A letter to her brother, Thomas Snell, containing a full account written on June 18, 1835, four days after her arrival, but erroneously dated June 10, 1835, which was published in the *Bureau County Republican*, June 16, 1938; (3) Her letter to Charity Bryant which, strangely enough, was not written until March 31, 1836. This and all other letters to Charity Bryant of Weybridge, Vermont—who was Dr. Peter Bryant's sister—are in the Shelden Museum, Middlebury, Vermont. Considering the very close agreement of the letters and diary, it is probable that the latter was carefully consulted before the letters were written.

[15] Mrs. Bryant wrote to her brother, March 7, 1836: "Most of the houses are built of logs. I think there will not be many more log houses built. It takes a great deal of timber and now the land has come into market people cannot get much timber from Uncle Sam's land and they feel more choice of their own. . . . People would build

frame house, twenty-three feet by thirty feet. Mrs. Bryant also noted that in the spring of 1836 Mr. Wiswall, of Mrs. John H. Bryant's family, had the only frame barn in the settlement.

Six years earlier Elijah Epperson had established himself on the creek northwest of Princeton. In 1831 six families of the Hampshire Colony arrived, and that year the settlement obtained a post office under the name of Bureau Grove, which was first changed to Greenfield, and then to Princeton when the survey of the village site on the school section was completed in 1833. A quarter of a mile south of the center of the village lay the claims of Cyrus, John, and Arthur Bryant, "on a swell or rise of ground on the east side of the forest which lines the Bureau River and commands a considerable prospect over the prairie to the east and northeast." Austin bought land south and southeast of Arthur's tract, but close enough so that Mrs. Bryant often walked from Cyrus' place to Austin's.

When Cyrus and John Bryant staked their claims in the fall of 1832, they "built a log cabin . . . kept Batchelor's Hall through the winter as there was no place where they could board near their claim," despite the fact that they were only a half mile from the site of the future courthouse. After the threat of Black Hawk's raiders—who had twice alarmed the settlers—had passed, the prairie rapidly filled with settlers who for the most part came from Massachusetts and the adjoining states.

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more if lumber could be procured—There are mill seats enough but the mills are in poor hands often out of repair and not half made. This is the case with Saw mills as well as grist mills." See *Sketches of the Early Settlement and Present Advantages of Princeton* (Isaac B. Smith, pub., Princeton, Ill., 1857) for a discussion of early buildings in the village.

The land had been surveyed, but was not yet on the market when the Bryants and their neighbors took up claims. The first sale of these tracts was held at Galena in July, 1835, and the settlers' representatives bid it in at the minimum price of $1.25 per acre, although its value soon doubled and tripled. Cyrus Bryant paid $500 for his 400 acres. Settlers flocked into the new country, as many as thirty coming in one week in the fall. A year later Cyrus sold a tract of 40 acres for more than twice the cost of the 400 acres.[16]

Transportation of goods from Chicago and the East was costly, and prices were consequently high in the growing settlement. Local products, too, commanded good prices: oats sold at $.50 a bushel, wheat at $1.00, potatoes at $.25, corn at $.75, flour at $8.00 a barrel, and beef at $4.00 a hundredweight.[17] There was a strong demand for tradesmen. The man tailor who had recently arrived was making box coats for $9.00 and common coats for $7.00, and he was so busy that capable women like Mrs. Cyrus Bryant were also doing tailoring. Blacksmiths and brickmakers were especially needed, as well as better mill equipment.

By 1836 the village "had a great name abroad;" it was called "the Yankee settlement." The Hampshire Colony Church had erected a frame building, the first church in the settlement. The anti-slavery movement had not yet taken hold of this church as it did within the next two or three years, but the temperance society and the lyceum association were becoming active. Schools were established, the village sought incorpora-

[16] Arthur Bryant to Sarah S. Bryant, Princeton, Dec. 24, 1833; Sarah S. Bryant to Charity Bryant, Cummington, May 21, 1833 and Princeton, Sept. 20, 1836.

[17] These prices are quoted for the spring and fall of 1836. Sarah S. Bryant to Thomas Snell, Princeton, March 7, 1836, and to Charity Bryant, Sept. 20, 1836.

tion, and agitation was under way for a new county, to be centered in Princeton. Mrs. Bryant wrote: "Some think the County Seat will be here. It is said by some the County will be divided." She was well aware of the plans, for John Bryant and two others went to Vandalia the following winter and successfully lobbied for a law enabling an election upon the proposal to divide Putnam County. In a hard-fought campaign the division carried,

THE CYRUS BRYANT RESIDENCE AT PRINCETON, ILLINOIS

and in 1837 Bureau County was created, with the county seat at Princeton, as Mrs. Bryant had predicted. That fall the Bryants in the East were glad to hear the surprising news that three of the Bryant boys held county offices.[18]

[18] Charity A. Bryant to Charity Bryant, Enfield, Mass., Nov. 1, 1837. The letters of Rufus Everett to Oliver Everett, written from Princeton in 1837, now owned by Oliver Everett of DeKalb, Ill., vividly describe the division election. Mrs. Bryant

So, within the space of two years after Mrs. Bryant's arrival, the pioneer village had grown to be the county seat of a new county in whose activities all the Bryants were leaders. Their families were comfortably established in cabins and frame houses, on good farms, with ample timber and water.[19]

The last dozen years of Mrs. Bryant's life, which were spent in Bureau County, were full of the everyday work of the growing families of her children and the life of the new community.[20] From 1835 to 1839 she made her home with one or another of her children in Princeton; from 1839 to 1843 she lived with her daughter Louisa south of the present village of Lamoille; but after a short summer trip to the East in 1843, she returned with Louisa's family to Princeton, where she remained until her death in 1847.

In October, 1837, the differences within the Hampshire Colony Church came to a climax and twenty-four members, among them Austin's and Arthur's wives, withdrew to form a new Congregational Society. Mrs. Bryant and her sons had attended the old church, but they disapproved of the Reverend Lucien Farnham and some of his leading laymen. As a result, all of the Bry-

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wrote Charity on July 10, 1837: "Our County seat has been in Hennepin, one side of the county. People who go there from here have to cross the river many times when they are obliged to attend court. It is very dangerous getting there. The county is now divided by the river. Our County for the future will be called Bureau. The county seat will be in Princeton, one fourth of a mile from Cyrus. Land in Princeton is very high—There has been a great struggle in the attempt to have the county divided. Much time and money have been spent. They have at length succeeded—John is Recorder of Deeds, Rush is one of the County Commissioners, Cyrus Clerk of the County Commissioners Court."

[19] John and Cyrus planned brick houses. John's was completed in 1839, of brick made on his own farm, and Cyrus' in 1845. Both houses still stand. See *Prairie Farmer*, Vol. 5, no. 10 (Oct., 1845), 252-53 for plans of Cyrus' house, and Sarah S. Bryant's letter to Charity Bryant, Nov. 16, 1845, for an account of the housewarming.

[20] One time, when she listed her grandchildren, Mrs. Bryant dryly remarked: "It is a very fruitful country here in every sense of the word." Sarah S. Bryant to Charity Bryant, July 10, 1837.

ants supported the new society for a time. On December 29, 1844, a week after the society became the First Presbyterian Church of Princeton, Mrs. Bryant was one of four who "appeared before the session [of which Austin was a member] and were examined as to their evidences of piety and doctrinal belief and having given satisfaction were accordingly received."[21]

When Louisa's husband, Justin H. Olds, gave up storekeeping in Princeton and purchased a farm on the south edge of the village of Greenfield (Lamoille after 1840), Mrs. Bryant wrote somewhat regretfully that "Louisa wishes me to live with her."[22] But while Mrs. Bryant was visiting in the East ,Olds returned to storekeeping in Princeton, and Mrs. Bryant came to the Olds home there, on the morning of October 22, 1843, just a few hours before Louisa gave birth to a son.

William Cullen had visited his mother in 1841, again in 1845, and probably in 1846. In 1845 her preacher-brother, Thomas Snell, came to Princeton for a week. During the winter of 1846-1847 she suffered a painful fall, and in a short letter to Charity Bryant, dated April 14, 1847, she said that she had "just begun to write after a fall." She also stated that Arthur had engaged in the nursery business in which she hoped he might prosper with his sturdy son, young Arthur, to help

[21] Mrs. Bryant's letters to Thomas Snell, March 7, 1836, to Charity Bryant, July 10, 1837, July 6, 1838, and May 12, 1839, and to Thomas Snell, March 31, 1840, tell of the difficulties within the Hampshire Colony Church, and of her attachment to the new church. See also G. V. Bohman and J. I. Palmer, *The First Presbyterian Church of Princeton: Its First Century* (1937), Chapter II, for a detailed account of the formation of the new society; and the First Presbyterian Church of Princeton Records Book I: 27, for Mrs. Bryant's reception as a member.

[22] Justin Olds and Louisa Bryant were the first couple married in Bureau County, June 14, 1837. J. H. Olds and L. K. Olds purchased 480 acres of land in Lamoille and Clarion townships from S. B. Fellows and J. H. Bryant for $4,000 on Dec. 25, 1838. Bureau County Circuit Clerk's Office, Book F, Deeds 39, no. 2,514. See also Mrs. Bryant's letters from Greenfield (Lamoille) May 12, 1839, March 31, 1840 and Sept. 29, 1840.

him. Three weeks later, on May 6, 1847, Mrs. Bryant passed away.[23]

Before discussing in detail Mrs. Bryant's character, it must be noted that she was a tall, strong woman, excellently equipped physically to be a hard-working pioneer. Two paintings show her with black, curled hair, a long face, a high brow, and a sharp chin. Her nose is long and straight, the cheekbones emphasized by hollowed cheeks. Her mouth is wide and firm, but the lips thin. In the only known photograph from life, made in her last years, the face is fuller and the features softened by age, but the dominant characteristic is still a strong, dignified mien.[24]

Arthur Bryant's story of his mother's mounting a horse from the ground, during her first year in Princeton, has been used by almost every biographer to prove her strong physique. In spite of this strength, however, it must be remembered that her letters often mention headaches, colds, coughs, and other minor ailments to which she usually applied home remedies.[25]

William Cullen Bryant modestly described his mother as a "person of excellent practical sense, of a quick and

[23] Godwin, *Bryant*, II: 31 states that William Cullen "saw his venerable mother for the last time" in 1846. See also Sarah S. Bryant to Charity Bryant, Nov. 16, 1845 and April 14, 1847. Mrs. Bryant was buried on the Austin Bryant lot in Oakland Cemetery, Princeton. In his later years her last surviving son, John, moved her remains from the south lot (Austin's) to the north lot (John's). The original stone still stands, but a simple headpiece with the initials "S.S.B." marks the present resting place.

[24] A photograph of a painting in the possession of Cullen Bryant Snell, Brookline, Mass., appears in the *Bureau County Republican*, June 16, 1938. A photograph of the miniature in the New York Historical Society appears with McDowell's article, *Americana*, XXII: 413. The head and shoulder positions in these portraits are identical but Mrs. Bryant is differently costumed and seems to have been much younger at the time of the Snell portrait. The photograph from life, in the Bryant Association files at Princeton, is printed in the *Seventy-fifth Anniversary Volume of the First Presbyterian Church of Princeton* (1912).

[25] Her letters to Charity Bryant of March 31, 1836, July 10, 1837, and Sept. 29, 1840 mention some ailments and remedies. She had great respect for William Cullen's belief in homeopathy, as well as for the importance of temperance in eating, good water, and medicinal herbs raised at home.

sensitive moral judgment," as one who "had no patience with any form of deceit or duplicity," who promptly condemned injustice, and was of necessity "a careful economist." These and other rugged traits of character are shown, not only by her letters, but also by the mere fact of her migration to Illinois at the age of sixty-seven.[26]

Sarah Snell Bryant was first of all deeply devoted to her family—to such an extent that she apparently felt no fear for the hardships of the journey to Illinois and no ties of sentiment strong enough to hold her in the East despite the comforts and advantages of the Cummington home. Mrs. Bryant and Austin were described as departing "with as much cheerfulness as could be expected, but not without much feeling," and although Mrs. Bryant wrote with apparent composure to her sister-in-law Charity, "I have but little expectation of ever seeing you again as we think of moving to Illi-[nois] in May," she subsequently wrote, "How I shall feel when I get to Illi[nois] I cannot tell. I am undetermined about being homesick but I shall let you know about the matter when I find out."

If Mrs. Bryant ever experienced such pangs, she concealed them admirably, for there was never in her letters any expression of regret for the move she had made, but only of wishes that others of her family might join her in the new country. After a year in Illinois, she wrote Charity, "I think we are all well satisfied with our circumstances. I should be very well pleased if you could be one of our neighbors."

[26] Godwin, *Bryant*, I: 4. The only further mention of his mother by William Cullen seems to have been in the poem, "The May Sun Sheds an Amber Light" (1849?), Parke Godwin, ed., *Poetical Works of William Cullen Bryant* (1883), II: 24-25; and to this may be added the stanza beginning "She who in my early days," in John H. Bryant's poem, "On Leaving the Place of my Nativity," *Poems* (1885), 65.

In all probability Mrs. Bryant was much too busy with the routine of pioneer existence to have much time for loneliness, for she considered neither her age, her uncertain health, nor the crudity of frontier conditions as sufficient excuse for idleness. Sick as she was on the journey west and crowded as was the boat, in her diary she recorded that on May 27 she "sewed a little on a pair of pantaloons." While she and Louisa lived with Cyrus the first year, they sewed with his wife, who was a tailor and had more work than all of them could do.

In December, 1837, Mrs. Bryant fell and broke a bone in her wrist, an accident which she found somewhat inconvenient but by no means disabling: "It was never very painful. I could do some work with my left hand. I could not comb my hair for four weeks. I could tend the child and iron with my left hand."[27]

As was to be expected in one so energetic, Mrs. Bryant had the greatest admiration for industry in others and a corresponding contempt for those who were shiftless. She frequently exhibited extreme impatience with Daniel Bryant, a cousin, and his lack of enthusiasm for work:

> Mr. Bryant [she always spoke of him with that formality] might be a man of property. He says he never wishes to be. He has a good trade, can have two dollars a day every day he will work. He says he feels sleepy and dull. Perhaps he is bilious. If he would take a dose of bilious pills I think it would wake him up. That he will not do. His wife is neat and industrious. He might make her life much more comfortable if he would improve all his leisure hours. He is a man of reading and good sense.

Daniel evidently remained as emphatic in his refusal to be "waked up" as Mrs. Bryant was in her condemna-

[27] Lydia Snell to Charity Bryant, Jan. 19, 1836; Sarah S. Bryant to Charity Bryant, Jan. 21 and March 28, 1835, Sept. 20, 1836, July 10, 1837, and July 6, 1838; Sarah S. Bryant to Thomas Snell, March 7, 1836.

tion of his lassitude, for a year later she again wrote to Charity sympathizing with his wife, "I wish she had a comfortable house—nothing is wanting to have one but industry." Finally, after two years of exasperation, she cast aside all reticence of expression in an account of a suit for $60 brought against Daniel by a local merchant:

> If he was disposed, he might pay all his debts and live aboveboard . . . . He does not seem to have any *energy*. He will not work for himself unless he is absolutely obliged to. Rather than freeze or starve he will work—his cabin leaks badly. He has made partly enough shingle to put on. They are scattered here and there and they will rot before they are put on. It is nothing but laziness . . . . His wife . . . frets and scolds and who will wonder at it . . . . If he was as industrious as she is, they could make a good living.[28]

Along with her unbounded energy, Sarah Snell Bryant possessed an acute business sense which made her ever aware of the opportunities which the new country provided for tailors, sawmill operators, brickmakers, and blacksmiths, since everything of that nature commanded a high price.[29]

Building costs and the price of goods purchased at the stores, as Mrs. Bryant noted, were one-third greater in Illinois than in the East. However, she said that anyone "who comes into this country and is able I think may gain property." All of her sons she described as having good farms, and within a year Austin, with the others, was worth twice as much as when he arrived. It must have tickled her Yankee taste for a good bargain no little to recount the story that Cyrus had bought those 400 acres for $500 and a year later sold 40 of the

[28] Sarah S. Bryant to Charity Bryant, July 10, 1837, July 6-8, 1838, May 12, 1839.

[29] Of the smith situation she wrote: "We have one poor half dead blacksmith. . . . We want a good stirring, capable man at the business, one who would make a fortune in a short time. We want a man from Massachusetts—a full blooded Yankee." Letter to Thomas Snell, Princeton, March 7, 1836.

same acres for "$600 more than enough to pay for all he bought."

Keeping out of debt, Mrs. Bryant thought "a very comfortable thing." Neither was she above small economies such as sending by friends traveling to Vermont a letter to Charity which she would otherwise not have written, "not having matter enough worth the postage of a letter from here."[30]

If common sense was the warp thread in the homespun of Mrs. Bryant's character, then stern moral qualities were its woof. She maintained a high standard of conduct in herself and demanded the same in others. The ill-breeding and profanity of many of the women who shared the boat on the lake passage to Illinois proved exceedingly distasteful to her. As she naively stated later: "I heard more profanity in one hour than I heard before in all my life. Three-fourths of the words spoken by the hand, I believe, were oaths, enough to make one sick of traveling."[31]

According to the testimony of her sons in their later years, she was instrumental in promoting temperance in the community. She frequently noted in her letters that no "spirit" was sold in Princeton. At one time she wrote:

> If anyone has occasion for spirit they send to Hennepin over the Illi[nois] River ten miles from here. I do not hear of anyone's getting spirit unless for camphor or medicine. Some say there is a great deal drank in Hennepin. I do not know of anyone who wishes to have spirit sold here.

Mrs. Bryant did not confine her temperance campaigning to spirituous liquors alone, but discouraged

[30] Sarah S. Bryant to Charity Bryant, Princeton, July 6-8, and Sept. 20, 1836; Sarah S. Bryant to Thomas Snell, Princeton, March 7, 1836.

[31] Sarah S. Bryant to Thomas Snell, Princeton, June 18, 1835.

all other bad habits in her own household such as chewing and smoking tobacco, idleness and profanity. Guided by the Biblical injunction, "Be ye temperate in all things," she was much concerned over the fact that the indolent cousin Daniel often smoked excessively, sometimes smoking all day. She was consequently much elated when she could report that he had changed and was using no tobacco, tea or coffee, but she added dubiously, "How long he will do without I cannot tell."[32]

Mrs. Bryant had a strong sense of equity and justice, and especially abhorred land-dealers. As she herself stated:

> If people go to the western states for the purpose of attaining a comfortable living, promote society and do good in the world, I heartily wish them prosperity. But if they go to speculate and enrich themselves, I care not whether they prosper or not.

In matters of religion, the piety and devotion engendered in Mrs. Bryant's New England background were tempered by that same spirit of common sense and practicality which pervaded her other activities. She was ordinarily a zealous attendant at the various church services, but she demanded a good sermon as the price of her attendance. In this respect, Lucien Farnham, the Congregational minister, fell far short of the standards she imposed. She portrayed him as preaching "very good sermons when he writes them out, but when he preaches without notes he makes out then like all other preachers who preach without notes." She lamented

[32] See Godwin, *Bryant*, I: 58; also letter of Sarah S. Bryant to Thomas Snell, Princeton, March 7, 1836, and one to Charity Bryant, Princeton, July 10, 1837. In 1839, after she had gone to live with Louisa at Greenfield, she wrote of the inhabitants of Princeton: "I feel very much interested in their welfare. They are civil, enterprising, industrious people mostly from the eastern states—mainly Temperance men." Sarah S. Bryant to Charity Bryant, Greenfield, May 12, 1839.

that "people are apt to think anything will do for the West."

It was not only as a preacher but also as a pastor that Mrs. Bryant condemned Farnham, particularly for his stubborn attitude in certain matters of church organization and his inability to understand human nature—to comprehend that "men will not be drove," but that "soft and gentle means will often accomplish what force and fury may in vain try to effect."[33]

Mr. Farnham's dogmatic assertions on many subjects she found not only irritating but highly fantastic, as in the case of his sermons in which he opposed professed Christians marrying "non-professors."

> People will marry whom they please . . . and I think such preaching has prevented people joining the church . . . . A person who is a church member no doubt would choose to marry one who was, if they could get such an one as they liked, but to marry one who is disagreeable because they are church members, I do not think it right.

Neither did she think Mr. Farnham acted wisely in the excommunication of a Mrs. Newel who, acknowledging before the church that she had helped spread some derogatory gossip concerning two young ladies in the church, apologized for it. But because of her husband's unwillingness she did not make a confession before the whole congregation, as Farnham demanded. According to Mrs. Bryant's report, dissatisfaction was general and Farnham's order to treat Mrs. Newel "not as a sister but with neglect" was met on many sides with the reverse action. Further, a "protracted meeting" which Farnham conducted for twenty-two days resulted

[33] On July 10, 1837 she wrote to Charity Bryant: "Our minister is not very well loved by his people. He is too overbearing. He uses no gentle means." See also Sarah S. Bryant to Charity Bryant, June 30, 1834 and Sept. 20, 1836, and Sarah S. Bryant to Thomas Snell, March 7, 1836.

in "only one little girl unit[ing] with the church . . . some thought the treatment of Mrs. Newel was a great hindrance to the cause."[34]

After two years under this ministry, Mrs. Bryant told how the town called Farnham "Pope Lucien." She scoffed at him for contending that church members should not even eat with "the world's people," saying: "He must be much better than our Saviour who ate with Publicans and sinners." Of his preaching she wrote:

> If I should hear a man in the streets using such language as Mr. Farnam uses in his pulpit I should call him profane. He tells the people their prayers are cold enough to freeze hell over. Many similar expressions he often uses which are very disagreeable to a delicate ear.

In the meantime a part of the Hampshire Colony congregation had withdrawn and formed a new society. They hired A. B. Church, formerly of Cummington, to preach for them. He proved much more popular and vastly increased Mrs. Bryant's enthusiasm for attending services, so that in 1839, when she moved to Greenfield, she wrote regretfully of leaving "our New Meeting house and minister. I never felt so much attached to any minister as I do to Mr. Church."[35]

While Mrs. Bryant was tolerant of the rights of others, even to the point of admitting that the lethargic cousin Daniel had a right to live as he pleased, yet she demanded the right to speak her own mind on any and all occasions, though it meant challenging the authoritarian position of the clergy. In this, as in other re-

[34] Sarah S. Bryant to Charity Bryant, Princeton, July 10, 1837. Mrs. Bryant opposed revivals on principle as times of religious excitement which effected little good.

[35] Sarah S. Bryant to Charity Bryant, Princeton, July 6, 1838, and from Greenfield, May 12, 1839.

spects, she was a remarkably independent woman for her time.

In the final analysis, Sarah Snell Bryant probably struck the keynote of her happiness in Illinois and indeed of a large part of her existence, when she wrote, "Those who look altogether at present conveniences are not likely to be contented—for my part, I like to see things progressing."

Mrs. Bryant was keenly observant of current affairs and conditions and possessed a breadth of interests unusual in one of her age. Her diary of the trip contained frequent comments on the cities and countryside through which she passed. In her first letter to the East she noted with particular interest how the canal had been cut through the rock at Lockport, New York, and in less than a year she was writing with great enthusiasm concerning the improved transportation, broader markets, and reduced prices on goods from the East which would result from the completion of the proposed Illinois-Michigan Canal.

She was also interested in the development of good schools and the securing of competent teachers, for, as she stated, "We want good teachers here as in an old country and we shall have them before long."[36]

It is easy to understand why her son John wrote of her:

> Not only was she industrious and persevering in ordinary labor, but she took a deep interest in public affairs, both national and State . . . . She exerted a considerable influence in temperance and neighborhood improvements, such as schools, roads, etc.

This, then, was the remarkable woman concerning

[36] Sarah S. Bryant to Thomas Snell, Princeton, March 7, 1836, and to Charity Bryant, Princeton, March 31, 1836.

whom, after her death at the age of eighty, William Cullen Bryant wrote to his brother John:

> It is a mitigation of the calamity to think she was spared to us so long; that her life was blameless and useful; and that, although some of her last days were embittered by physical suffering, she was always satisfied with the lot assigned her by Providence. To have lived in benevolent work and contentment, and, for the most part, in health, the full number of years allotted to the human race, may be accounted as singularly fortunate. We have reason to be grateful that such was the case with our mother.[37]

[37] Godwin, *Bryant*, I: 58; II: 31.

# THE DRAMA IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS (1865-1900)

BY ROY STALLINGS

IN the post-Civil War period, amidst a general revival of drama in the United States, Southern Illinois, and Cairo in particular, were beginning to develop their own brand of drama culture. Originating on the Mississippi and Ohio River showboats, this development passed into the era of the theatrical halls and from this transition period into the final age, that of the opera house. This evolution began to be a common occurrence in the early 1880's and lasted into the first part of the twentieth century.

This development was hindered to a certain degree by the attitude of religious disapproval taken by the churches in some localities. Tom Squire, in his article "Church and Drama," speaks of it thus: "In America religion and drama did not get very close together until about twenty-five years ago. They had long been, in fact, openly hostile."[1] The most noticeable example of this church disapproval in Southern Illinois is to be found in the attitude taken by the Methodist-operated McKendree College at Lebanon, Illinois. The college showed distinct aversion to "visiting circuses or shows."[2]

[1] *Theatre Arts Monthly*, Vol. XXIII, no. 9 (Sept., 1939), 653.

[2] *Centennial McKendree College with St. Clair County History* (Lebanon, Ill., [1928]), 238.

The majority of schools co-operated with this development through the literary societies and their amateur productions, and also through the old-style elocution instructors. The professional drama in Southern Illinois was concentrated in the old opera houses that were quite prominent in several local communities.

Never has the professional stage claimed any more romantic and truly "theatrical" people than in this post-war period. This was true not only of the continental drama and the drama in eastern United States; the frontier theater was also truly romantic. One is accurate in pointing out that such personages as Ellen Terry and Henry Irving did not include Cairo Opera House in their bookings;[3] but, on the other hand, New York and London were not privileged to see the Mississippi River showboats that frequented Cairo and Thebes, or the Ohio River boats that made regular stops at Elizabethtown and Shawneetown. Nor did the more cosmopolitan audiences have the pleasure of hearing touring actresses from New Orleans sing "Who's Dat Knockin' at de Door." While Chicago audiences were seeing the Italian Opera Company and Edwin Booth and Clara Morris[4] in "Richelieu" and "Camille," Shelbyville audiences were going to the Parker Opera House managed by a future New York impresario, Charles Wagner.

And what of these showboats? Did they contribute to drama? The answer is "No." Their melodramas and their musical reviews are not extensively recorded in literature. Their own unique and great contribution was in the realm of romanticism and the building up of a

[3] They made several tours of America, the first being in 1881.

[4] Clara Morris rose to fame in some of the plays that were written by Augustin Daly, who was born and reared in St. Louis, Missouri. Strange though it seems, Daly had little effect on the drama in Southern Illinois. The only apparent reason for this is that Daly was more European than American in his style and subject matter.

theater tradition in America. The worth of their plays lay in the fact that they were quantitative rather than qualitative. The actors were troupers; their aim was to satisfy their audiences. They lived up to the standards of the theater, not those of the drama. Like the river town audiences they served, the showboat troupers were robust, rough-and-ready. Southern Illinois audiences were of the hard-working pioneer type. They had no time for the softer, more delicate occupations of the easterners, and so they had little desire to witness the type of drama to be seen there. These people much preferred the melodrama and the earthy jokes of the showboat troupers, for their daily lives were robust, hard-working, and earthy.

During the Civil War, the gunboats had forced the showboats on dry land. Very few of these boats, but enough to uphold tradition, returned to the rivers after 1865. The river towns were forced to substitute for these showboats. The theatrical halls served in their places.

In Cairo, Egypt's main river town, the Athenaeum, located on the east side of Commercial Avenue near Seventh Street, became the center of drama for the Civil War decade. Such attractions as "Ten Nights in a Barroom," "Under the Gaslight," "The Spectre Bridegroom," "The Pearl of Savoy," and "All that Glitters is not Gold" were shown to please the audiences that thrived on melodrama. Tableaux were also very popular. Some typical examples were "Nydia," "The Blind Girl," "Now I Lay Me Down to Sleep," "Taking of the Veil," and "The Handwriting on the Wall."

This old Athenaeum was built in the early 1860's to serve as an amusement hall for the soldiers. The two-story frame building had two double doors for en-

trances.[5] There was a balcony which was occupied by a band. This band attraction was later abandoned as it "drew a motley crowd, who elbowed and jostled ladies as they entered the doors."[6]

The Athenaeum was under several different managements during 1865 and 1866. The attractions at this time consisted of pantomimes, songs, dances, and such show pieces as "The Witches of Lurlieburg." There is little evidence as to competition in other fields of entertainment. The following advertisement, however, tells of a circus that came to Cairo in March, 1866.

Thayer and Noyes
Mammoth New Orleans
Circus Combination
From the Academy of Music, New Orleans,
will exhibit at
Cairo
Thursday and Friday, March 8 and 9

The admission was seventy-five cents for adults and fifty cents for children under ten years of age. The main attraction was described thus: "Fascinating and Vivid Pageantries, Beautiful Groupings, Graceful Horsemanship."[7]

Athenaeum attractions were always given reviews, and usually very favorable ones, by the newspapers. A typical review, taken from *The Cairo Times*, reads as follows:

Theatre—The Athenaeum opened last night with the "Fool of the Village" and "Letty's Troubles." Miss Addie Reese appeared as "Betty Wilson" and "Letty," making a very favorable impression. There was not a large audience present. The theatre will be open

[5] Photograph given to Cairo Public Library by George Fry.
[6] *Cairo Democrat*, Vol. 3, no. 247, June 10, 1866.
[7] *Cairo Democrat*, Vol. 3, no. 164.

to-night, but we do not know what plays are up as we have not seen either an advertisement or a programme.[8]

According to the newspapers, the most popular performers in 1866 were Robert McWade and Addie Reese. The burlesque farce of "Richard III," given in German by Mr. McWade, was described as "superlatively good."[9]

Attractions at this time were: "Temptation," "His Last Legs," "Handy Andy," "London Assurance," "Streets of New York," "Lucretia Borgia," and "Country Cousin." It is interesting to note that after an actor had once "graced the boards" in Cairo, the newspapers followed him in his personal life as well as professional.[10]

Sol Smith Russell, 1848-1902, a prominent actor of the latter part of the nineteenth century, began his career as an actor at the Defiance Theatre in Cairo, after the Civil War. After engagements in Cairo, Russell went on a tour through the Middle West and then joined Augustin Daly's Company in New York. Some of his better known parts were Dr. Pangloss in "The Heir-at-Law," Bob Acres in "The Rivals," and the title role in "The Honorable John Grigsby."

Leaving Cairo for the time being, we go to Carbondale, sixty miles north of Cairo. The same generous attitude was taken by the *New Era* in Carbondale as by the newspapers in Cairo. A typical review of theatricals, as written by the *New Era*, is the following, which appeared on April 2, 1868:

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[8] *Cairo Democrat*, Vol. 3, no. 226, May 16, 1866.

[9] *Cairo Democrat*, Vol. 3, no. 245, June 8, 1866.

[10] In the *Cairo Democrat*, Vol. 3, no. 232, May 25, 1866, we find the announcement of the marriage of Mr. S. M. Irwin, a former player in Cairo to a Miss Reignwell in Virginia City, Montana.

Theatre—Wights Combination gave two performances at Quall's Hall on Monday and Tuesday evenings, giving entire satisfaction to those present. The hall was well filled at each performance. For the balance of the week, they perform at the court house in Murphysboro. The company is not large but all are good actors, and all pieces are creditably performed. We commend the troupe to the people of Murphysboro as worthy of liberal patronage. We should be glad to see performances of this kind encouraged, that they may come again. The monotony of village life is broken to an extent and the people benefited thereby.[11]

Newspapers of Southern Illinois that gave attention to the local drama also gave attention to the theatrical world in other localities. They concerned themselves with such news as the tours of European actors, Adelina Patti's marriages, and articles on "The Stage and the Pulpit" and the dress of ballet girls.[12]

The attitude of the city government was expressed in the ordinances published by the weekly newspaper in Carbondale, *New Era*, July 11, 1867:

Chapter VI—Licenses
Division I

An ordinance in regard to shows, exhibitions and amusements in Carbondale.

1. No person shall give or exhibit any theatrical or other exhibition, show, amusement or concert when money is charged for admission thereto, without a license therefor under a penalty of not less than double the amount herein assessed and taxed for such license. . . .

4. Any person giving or conducting any exhibition, show, or amusement shall preserve good order in and about his place of exhibition or amusement, and if necessary for that purpose shall employ at his own expense, a sufficient police force.

5. Any person who shall conduct himself in a riotous or disorderly manner at any place of exhibition or amusement shall be subject to a penalty of not less than $3.00. And if any person be-

[11] The attitude of the Murphysboro press in regard to this particular entertainment is not known.

[12] The *New Era* and the *Marion Monitor* were the most cosmopolitan in this particular subject.

longing to or connected with any show or exhibition, shall conduct himself in a riotous or disorderly manner, or cause any disturbance or breach of the peace at the place of exhibition, the license of such show or exhibition may be revoked or forfeited in the discretion of the President of the Board or any Police Magistrate, and no license shall at any time thereafter be granted for such exhibition, unless for good cause shown, with the consent of the President and trustees.[13]

The influence of the theatrical halls lasted until 1881, when the Cairo Opera House was opened. The importance of this Opera House to Cairo citizens can best be illustrated by quoting from the diary of a young lady of Cairo, Maud Rittenhouse. The entry is for December 15, 1881: "The day has come! The Opera House opens tonight. . . . I'm going with Elmer, of course."[14]

The *Daily Cairo Bulletin* of December 15 described the finished building thus:

The building is of large dimensions, having . . . a seating capacity of 1,300 and folding opera chairs in first and second tiers. It is lighted by gas, heated by steam, has thorough ventilation, and perfect acoustic properties; has a stage of the largest size, being forty by sixty feet and full sets of scenery of the costliest kind; all modern improvements, and complete appointments of every description, furnishing the facilities for performances of the most elaborate character, the whole constituting it one of the most perfect buildings for theatrical performances in the South West. The proprietors have been assisted in the erection of the building by J. B. McElfatrick and Sons, of Louisville, Kentucky. The gas fixtures, carpets, curtains, upholstery, and all other appointments are in the highest and most modern style of art.[15]

In the same edition announcement was made concerning the facts of the evening's performance. The opening address was to be given by the Honorable John

[13] The second ordinance was concerned with town performances; the third with circuses.

[14] *Maud*, edited by R. L. Strout (New York, 1939), 47, by permission of MacMillan Co., publishers.

[15] *Daily Cairo Bulletin*, Vol. 12, Dec. 14, 1881.

H. Oberly of Bloomington, Illinois—he talked twenty minutes. Following the dedication, the Fay Templeton Opera Company was to present the comic opera "Mascotte." Notice was also made of the presentation of the opera "Olivette" on the sixteenth. The admission prices were as follows:

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|---|---|
| To Parquette and Parquette circle, with reserved seats | $1.00 |
| To Parquette circle, without seat | .75 |
| To Dress circle, with reserved seat | .75 |
| To Dress circle, without reserved seat | .50 |
| To Gallery | .25 |
| To Matinee, Dress circle | .25 |
| Lower Boxes, holding four | 6.00 |
| Upper Boxes, holding four | 5.00 |

Doors were to be opened at 7:00 on the evening of the fifteenth, and the performance was to be commenced at 7:45. H. C. Raymonde had the distinction of being the first stage manager of the opera house.

The scenery consisted of:

Drop Curtain, Bastillian Prison, Rocky Pass, Garden, Flower Lawns, Set Rocks, Set Trees, Palace Chamber, Rustic Kitchen, Horizon or Sea View, Landscape, Set House, Terrace Pieces, Balconies, Palace, Arch Perspective Street, Cut Woods, Garden Balustrade, Set Cottage, Torment or Wing and Doors, Modern Chamber, Street Arch, Gothic Chamber, Garden Statues, Rustic Bridges.

And what of the history of this $35,000 opera house that was to begin a new cycle of drama in Southern Illinois? W. H. Morris, M. F. Gilbert, H. H. Candee and Captain T. W. Shields, prominent citizens of Cairo, first became interested in the project. They went to Daniel Hartman, lessee of the Athenaeum, and Mrs. A. B. Safford and a Miss Barnes of Baltimore, the owners of the property. After the decision to destroy the old theatrical hall and use the same land for a site for the new

building, a company of stockholders was formed. The erection of the building was the responsibility of J. B. McElfatrick and Sons of Louisville, Kentucky; the architects were J. W. Keplinger and Sons of St. Louis, Missouri.

On September 20, 1881, the contracts were signed and ground broken. The building was one hundred feet long, sixty feet wide, and eighty-five feet high from the ground. The foundation was eight feet wide at the base, 900,000 bricks being used in the construction.

The *Daily Cairo Bulletin*, which had been printing advertisements for a month prior to this time, devoted a great deal of space on December 16 to the opening:

Cairo's Pride!
The New Opera House
Dedicated Last
Night
A Grand Affair—A Sea of Happy
Faces—Brilliant Scenes—
An Eloquent Oration
From Hon. John H.
Oberly—"The Mas-
cotte," by the
Fay Templeton
Troupe
The Event

Last night was a memorable one in the history of Cairo, because of the grand event which occurred then . . . . The many disappointments experienced by the Cairo public, because of the failure of similar grand enterprises in the past, must have looked upon the complete success of this undertaking with infinite satisfaction.

Referring again to Maud's diary, we have a more personal account:

Friday, December 16, 1881

Oh! It was grand!! Seated in that comfortable, spacious, lovely theatre with its blaze of lights, immense stage, artistic scenes, I

couldn't realize I was in Cairo until I looked around me and beheld the familiar faces.

The $500.00 drop curtain is a glory in itself. Elmer, Mabel, Will Wright and myself sat together in the parquette. Ladies all received souvenir programmes. Hon. J. H. Oberly made the dedication-speech and all the little Oberlys were there. So were all the people *in* town, and many from abroad. Not a seat in parquet or parquet-circle, only a few in dress-circle, and some in gallery.[16]

Some of the most popular actors of this early part of the 1880's were Julia Blake, Lizzie Evans, Harry Warren, Mattie Williams, Harry Booker, Valentine Drescher, and Flora Moore. The plays of this period were "Fanchon," "The New Dewdrop," "Bachclare," "Romany Rife," and "Little Duchess." "Romany Rife" was advertised as the "Drama depicting the Human Passions of Love, Jealousy, Remorse, Hate, Fear, Revenge."[17]

After this period of transition, we find that in Marion, Illinois, Askew's Hall had given way to the Dunaway Opera Hall and in Carbondale the Moody Opera House had replaced Quall's Hall. In Marion, we find evidence of more melodrama in the form of "A Hidden Crime," presented by the Standard Dramatic Company which had come to Marion from De Soto, Missouri.[18]

While other Southern Illinois towns were beginning to secure opera houses, Cairo's Opera House was continuing with great success. Referring again to *Maud*, we find evidence of home-talent performances. She wrote on May 24, 1893: "Well, the great ordeal of the 'Mikado' is successfully passed. I have made my debut in Opera!"[19] The *Citizen* said of her performance: "Miss

[16] R. L. Strout, ed., *Maud*, 47-48.
[17] *Daily Cairo Bulletin*, Vol. 16, no. 269, Oct. 18, 1884.
[18] *Marion Monitor*, Vol. 13, no. 36, Feb. 17, 1887.
[19] R. L. Strout, ed., *Maud*, 563.

Rittenhouse could not have been told from a professional. Her manner was easy and graceful."[20] Miss Rittenhouse played the part of Pitti-Sing.

In this same period, there is evidence of the Delsarte Movement. E. M. Bishop says: "This culture in its entirety includes expression and art." Anna Morgan defines it thus: "A perfect method by which we may not only obtain freedom and elasticity of action, but one which adds force and meaning to our every movement."[21] One of these movements was concerned with the drill of the Amazons, another with the portrayal, by twelve young ladies, of the immortal goddesses representing the immortal passions and "Nearer My God to Thee."

In 1893, a local production of "H.M.S. Pinafore," directed by Professor Storer, with D. S. Lansden, H. S. Candee, and Pearl Lancaster in the cast, was given first in Cairo and then in Anna at the Miller Opera House.

By this time the Cairo Opera Company was well established and was not only important in Cairo, but had made a name for itself in surrounding towns such as Anna, Carbondale, and Cobden, and in Paducah, Kentucky and points farther south. Plays of this period were "Damon and Pythias," "The Pirates of Penzance," "Belshazzar," "Fra Diavolo" and "The Pretty Persian." In 1900 the bookings at the Cairo Opera House were "Faust," "Ten Nights in a Barroom," "Quo Vadis," "Two Merry Tramps," "Texas Steer," Haverly's Minstrels, Charles Dickson, Clay Clement, Nashville students, "Coon Hollow," Primrose and Dockstader Minstrels, "Alberta Gallatin," "Tim Murphy,"

[20] *The Citizen*, Vol. 8, no. 34, May 25, 1893.

[21] Emily M. Bishop, *Americanized Delsarte Culture* (Washington, 1892), viii; Anna Morgan, *An Hour with Delsarte* (Boston, 1892), 8.

"Brass Monkey," "Why Smith Left Home," "Stranger in New York," "What Happened to Jones," "Hennessey Le Roy," "My Friend from India," "Three Musketeers," "The Highwayman," "Evil Eye," "Grace Hayward," Empire Vaudeville, "Blue Jeans," "Man from Mexico," repeat of "Quo Vadis," "King Rastus," "Thoroughbred Tramp," repeat of "King Rastus," "Watch on the Rhine," "Bob Taylor," "Fast Mail," "Creston Clarke," "Murkle Harder," repeat of the Nashville students, Stuart Robson, Walker Whiteside, "Down Mobile," Van Dyke and Eaton, Krauss and Taylor.[22]

The year 1900 saw the beginnings of drama development in Herrin. Herrin was for some time the only one-night stand for touring companies between St. Louis and Memphis. Such plays as "East Lynne," "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and "Ten Nights in a Barroom" were popular. In 1904, the Herrin Opera House was built and it served Herrin for several years.[23]

With Herrin as the last stage of development, Southern Illinois had come into the most important stage of drama culture. And this opera house factor was to persist until the second decade of the twentieth century. Southern Illinois had been wise. Throughout this period she had refused to look toward the east or even north to Chicago for drama examples. Instead, there had been an understanding and a cultivating of Egypt's indigenous likes and dislikes in the field of drama.

In the Federal Writers' guidebook, *Illinois: A Descriptive and Historical Guide*, there is the implication that Chicago's influence reached throughout the state;

[22] Personal testimony, Harvey Schutter, Cairo, Ill.
[23] Personal testimony, Joe Dell'Era, Herrin, Ill.

also that Chicago was the center of drama in Illinois. However, there is no proof to substantiate this statement which is merely a bad guess. Cairo was as important a center to Southern Illinois and points farther south, as Chicago was to its surrounding territory. In all fairness to Southern Illinois, she must be judged by her standards of drama rather than by Chicago's standards. Cairo was not only immune to Chicago's brand of drama, but she developed a drama that was more influential and more widely distributed than that of Chicago.

Southern Illinois' own heritage was blended into the drama of the showboat, giving way to the age of the theatrical halls, and finally reaching the zenith of development in the last twenty years of the century.

# PRUDENCE CRANDALL, ABOLITIONIST

BY C. C. TISLER

OVERSHADOWED in Illinois history by her more famous townsman, James Butler ("Wild Bill") Hickok, the story of Mrs. Calvin Philleo (Prudence Crandall) is known to few people. At the height of her fame, more than a century ago, she had caused an uproar in the State of Connecticut which resulted in the passage of a law aimed directly and solely at her school where she accepted Negro girls as students.

The story of Prudence Crandall properly starts in 1831 when she opened a select school for young women in her home town of Canterbury, Connecticut. From her parents, Pardon and Esther Carpenter Crandall, she had inherited a hatred of slavery and a strong conviction that the business of life was to do good and to make the world better. Her parents were Quakers who lived a simple and quiet life, shunning publicity in the traditional Friends manner.

The ability of Miss Crandall as a teacher filled her schoolroom and among the students she accepted was Sarah Harris, daughter of a Negro couple. The storm which broke about her unyielding head now seems incredible if one is not acquainted with New England sentiment of a century ago on the rights of Negroes.

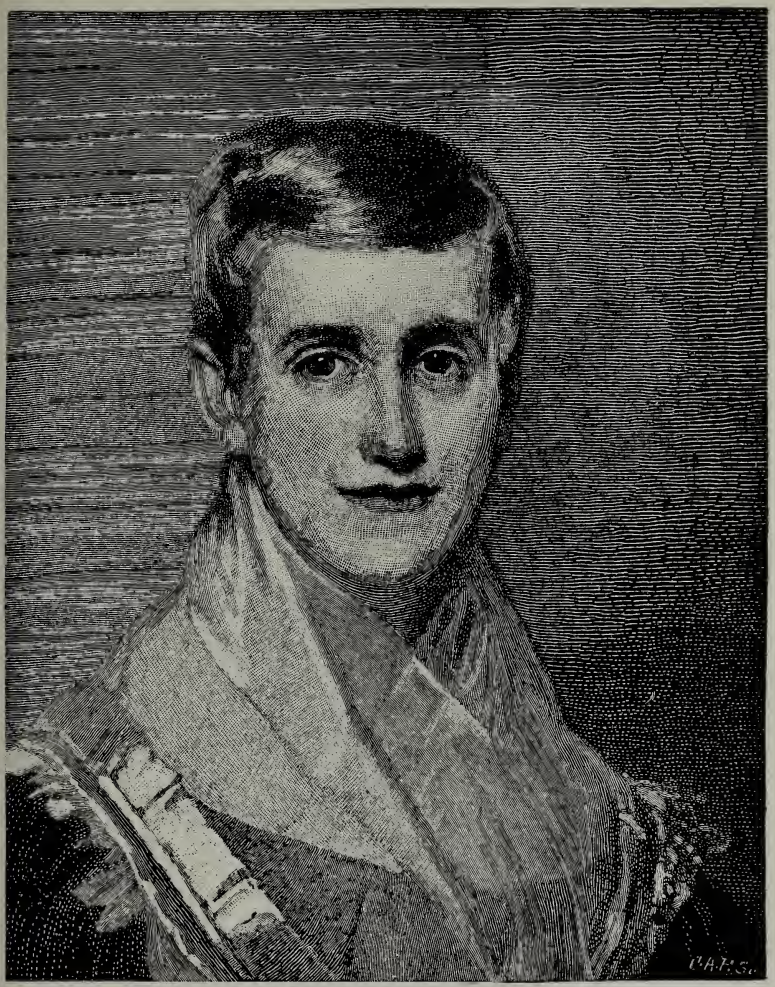
Her pupils were withdrawn from the school and Miss Crandall was denounced as a Negro worshipper.

She was insulted in the streets and partly ostracized socially. Finally, she found the entire State of Connecticut as well as the town of Canterbury arrayed against her.

She was ordered to dismiss Sarah Harris as a student. Her retort was to advertise that on Monday, April 1, 1833, she would open a school for the instruction of Negro girls in all the fine arts of the day, such as piano, drawing, painting, and the study of French. The terms were to be $25 per quarter, including board and laundry. For references she gave the names of prominent Abolitionists of New England, including Arthur Tappan, William Lloyd Garrison, the Reverend Samuel J. May and others enlisted in the war on slavery.

Then the storm broke with even more fury than when she had accepted Sarah Harris as a student. From their pulpits ministers thundered against her and against the school. Public meetings were held. The town of Canterbury was in an uproar over the matter. Merchants slammed the door against her patronage. Old friends failed to recognize the Quaker teacher when they met her. Authorities dusted off an old "vagrancy" law and sought to enforce it against her pupils who came from Boston, Providence, New York, Baltimore and other leading cities. Some of the students even came from distant southern cities.

Still she held the fort against the almost unanimous opposition of all the people of Canterbury. She refused to close the school. She refused to bow to bigotry. She did not capitulate to the demands of those who considered her and the school a menace to the strait-laced moral code of a New England town a century ago. An attempt was made to burn the school but the sills were rotten and merely smoldered. The doors and windows



Prudence Crandall

Prudence Crandall at the Age of Thirty-one

were broken, the walks were smeared with filth, refuse was thrown down the well, and other attempts were made to force the closing of the school through such tactics.

Then the State of Connecticut took a hand in the persecution of the strong-willed Quaker school teacher. The General Assembly passed a law prohibiting anyone from establishing a school for Negroes who were not residents of the state unless the consent of the selectmen of the town in which the school was to be located was obtained. Punishment for violation of the law was fixed at fine or imprisonment.

Miss Crandall was placed in jail when she opened her school and she occupied a cell only recently vacated by a murderer. Then followed a long and bitter legal fight in which Arthur Tappan, philanthropist and Abolitionist, took a hand. He devoted $10,000 to the case in an effort to free Miss Crandall but the end was inevitable.

The school was closed. She was twice tried and convicted and twice placed in prison. Finally an appeal was made to the Supreme Court of Connecticut and that court reversed the decision of the lower court on the ground of insufficient evidence. She was freed in July, 1834. William Lloyd Garrison commented in scathing tones on the case and headed a newspaper article "Heathenism Outdone."

In August, 1834, Miss Crandall married the Reverend Calvin Philleo, a Baptist minister. She and her husband settled at Troy Grove, Illinois in 1842 on land purchased in 1838 by her father. There she continued to teach school and founded the Philleo Academy for young women. It continued in operation for many years. She

was a resident of Troy Grove from 1842 to 1865 and for fifteen years of that period this little village on the Illinois prairie was also the home of "Wild Bill" Hickok, mighty Indian fighter of post Civil War days.

Numerous tales are told of the eccentricities of Mrs. Philleo, as she was known in later life. In the traditional manner of those who derive their livelihood from the ministry, she and her husband were not rich. At one time, when she was invited to attend a wedding and lacked funds to buy a new dress for the great event, she removed the lace curtains from her windows and out of them fashioned a dress for the occasion.

New England people of a century ago were restless and, once started on their westward migrations, they moved on and on from one frontier to another. Such was the case with Mrs. Philleo. After a residence of twenty-three years in Troy Grove, at the age of sixty-two, she sold her property in Troy Grove and moved to Rock Island, Illinois. Her husband died in 1874 and in 1877 she moved to the western prairies of Kansas. She settled near the village of Elk Falls and lived there until death in 1889.

The vigor that had led her to defy an entire town and state in her youth had not deserted her when she reached the age of eighty. At that advanced age she still retained her mental faculties to such an extent that she was able to address and hold the attention of a crowd of 2,000 people at a Fourth of July celebration.

Such is the story of Prudence Crandall Philleo, one of the many almost forgotten Americans of a century ago who crusaded against the evils of slavery, who defied the law and public opinion and aided in the crystallization of feeling in the North, to the end that a cancerous growth might be removed from the nation.

# THE PRESIDENT OF THE LINCOLN GUARD OF HONOR

BY LESTER L. SWIFT

JOHN Carroll Power, Custodian of the Lincoln Monument in Springfield, was confronted with a grave and difficult problem when he sought the help of Gustavus S. Dana in November, 1878. An attempt had been made to steal the body of Abraham Lincoln in 1876 and it now seemed probable that Dana would again be faced with a similar situation.

On the night of November 6, 1878, the body of a wealthy merchant, A. T. Stewart, was stolen in New York City and held for ransom. During the days that followed, the newspapers from coast to coast were filled with this sensational story.[1] It is not surprising that the man who guarded the grave of our nation's most beloved statesman feared that the Lincoln Monument would be invaded by ghouls a second time.

For nearly two years the coffin had been hidden under the terrace near the base of the obelisk. During the summer of 1877 the Custodian had been forced to reveal this fact to two workmen who later violated their pledge of secrecy. There was no way of knowing how far the story had traveled or how many knew that Lincoln's remains were not in the marble sarcophagus.

Mr. Power first sought the help of the Honorable

[1] George W. Walling, *Recollections of a New York Chief of Police* (New York, 1888), 224-35.

John T. Stuart, a member of the executive committee of the Lincoln Monument Association.

Mr. Stuart reminded the Custodian of that which he already knew, namely: that what Mr. Stuart had done before in the first removal of the body, had disabled him and made it difficult for him to get about for months; and that the other members of the Association were many of them nearly as old as himself.[2]

Mr. Stuart suggested that the Custodian enlist the services of someone who could be trusted and was young and strong. At this time Power himself was fifty-nine years old. The lead-lined cedar coffin weighed approximately five hundred pounds.

After this interview Mr. Power turned to Gustavus S. Dana and General Jasper N. Reece. Both were his personal friends and they were respected citizens of Springfield. These two picked three others and the group thus formed helped the Custodian place the body in a new hiding place. Later they organized the Lincoln Guard of Honor and elected Dana president.

The letter reproduced here was written by Dana after helping John Carroll Power. This and another letter are now in the possession of Dana's grandnephew, Karl Jenkins. Since the contents of the letters were reproduced in Mr. Power's book, it seems probable that they remained unopened until Power asked to use them, when a few minor changes in phraseology were made in pencil. Some time before this the names of three additional men—N. B. Wiggins, Horace Chapin, and C. L. Conkling—were added to the lists on the envelopes after they became members of the Lincoln Guard of Honor.

The "anonymous communication from Chicago" has also been preserved with the two letters. It is a post-

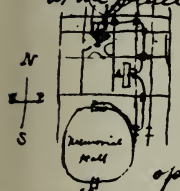
[2] John Carroll Power, *History of an Attempt to Steal the Body of Abraham Lincoln* (Springfield, Ill., 1887), 199.

HEADQUARTERS 2ND BRIGADE. 1ST DIVISION. I. N. G.

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT INSPECTOR GENERAL

Springfield, Ill Nov 18th 1878

By request of the Custodians, J.H. Power, and in view of the late stealing of the remains of A.T. Stewart for reward, and the attempted stealing of the remains of our honored late Commander-in-Chief; J.H. Power Jasper N. Reece, Joseph O. Lindley, E.B. Johnson, James R. McNeill and myself, did this night, remove the remains of Abraham Lincoln from the place they had been secreted since the attempt to steal them, to a place of greater safety, and buried them about six inches deeper than the depth of the case. (They were taken from the place marked A and buried at the place marked B.




This memorandum is made by me, in view of the suggestion by one of our members, that if we were all to be taken away, no one would know where the remains were, and some one opening the sarcophagus and finding it vacant might raise a "hue & cry" that this would save.

If this comes into the hands of any person other than one of those named above, let that person consider it as sacred as though the secret had been confided to him personally, and at once place it in the hands of one of those above named, commencing with the first and following through the list, but if all are dead [redacted] place it in the hands of the Governor of the State of Illinois. [illegible] Dana, Maj & Insp

DANA'S MEMORANDUM ON THE MOVING OF LINCOLN'S BODY

card written in pencil and postmarked in Chicago at 11:00 A.M. on November 18, 1878. On the back is this message:

> Be careful—do not be alone—
> particularly Thursday night
> Nov. 21st.
>
> C.
>
> Nov. 18th, '78
>
> Rec'd 11/21/78
> J. C. Power

The notation in the lower right corner is in Dana's handwriting. Power evidently sent for Dana and Reece, showed them the warning and asked them to hurry the completion of the task begun on the eighteenth, which he had not had time to do himself.

The subsequent history of the Lincoln Guard of Honor indicates that Mr. Power never regretted turning to his friend Gustavus Dana. Like millions of other American youths of his time, Dana had seen active service in the Civil War. But after a careful examination of the Dana Papers[3] it is evident that he was one of a mere handful who played an important part in the formation of a new branch of the United States Army.

When the war began Dana enlisted as a private in a Connecticut volunteer regiment. Promotions followed one another rapidly and by March, 1862 he was a second lieutenant with the forces at Hiltonhead, South Carolina. In September, 1862, the War Department sent orders to have a detail of officers picked for instruction in signaling and Dana was one of those selected. Continu-

[3] The brief outline of Dana's life which follows was obtained from these papers, now in the possession of Karl Jenkins. They consist of Dana's Letter Book, Daily Record Book, all of Dana's Army Commissions and "The Personal Recollections of Gustavus S. Dana," an unfinished MS, also a number of newspaper clippings, photographs, etc.

LINCOLN GUARD OF HONOR
Standing: N. B. Wiggins, E. S. Johnson, C. L. Conkling, Horace Chapin
Seated: J. F. McNeill, J. C. Power, G. S. Dana, J. N. Reece, J. P. Lindley

ing to serve in the Department of the South, he did signal duty at the Siege of Charleston in 1863 and later acted as Chief Signal Officer on the staff of General Truman Seymour and took part in the expedition to Florida which culminated in the disastrous Battle of Olustee.

The law creating a Signal Corps as a new branch of the Army was passed in March, 1863. In January, 1864, Dana was mustered into the United States Signal Corps with the rank of captain. Although more than two thousand men served in the Signal Corps during the Civil War, Dana was one of twenty-six who were commissioned in this new branch of the service.[4]

After serving in 1864 with the Army of the James, Dana left the Army in September, 1864, because of ill health. The following year he moved to Springfield. In the years that followed he was a commission merchant and was active in the Illinois National Guard, eventually attaining the rank of colonel.

In 1891 Dana moved to St. Paul, Minnesota, where he died on April 26, 1916. His death occurred less than three weeks after that of his wife. His remains were brought to Springfield where services were conducted by the Stephenson Post, Grand Army of the Republic. Interment was made in Oak Ridge Cemetery. His death was the fifth one to occur among the ranks of the Lincoln Guard of Honor.

[4] A. W. Greely, "The Signal Corps," *Photographic History of the Civil War*, ed. by F. T. Miller (New York, 1911), VIII: 314.

# THE STORY OF AN ORDINARY MAN

EDITED BY PAUL M. ANGLE

TOO often history deals exclusively with famous men. We honor John Deere as the inventor of the steel plow, but we pay scant attention to the thousands who used his plow to turn the matted prairies into fertile farms. We glorify Grant as the conqueror of Vicksburg, but we have only tiny headstones for the dogged volunteers who made his victory possible.

Not that we ignore the contributions of the common man. We admit them, of course, but when we do, we deal in generalities, and the men themselves remain anonymous.

One reason for anonymity is the absence of records. The farmer, the miner, the private soldier were generally less articulate than their more prominent fellow citizens, and what they did write was not as a rule preserved with the same care as the writings of well-known men. Occasionally, however, a good series of letters by an ordinary man comes to light. Such are the letters of William H. Tebbetts, recently acquired by the Illinois State Historical Library.

William H. Tebbetts, with his wife, son, and his wife's parents emigrated from Barnstead, New Hampshire, to northern Illinois in 1853. Settling first at Peoria, Tebbetts lived in succession at Metamora, Sparta (Knox County), Galesburg, and Wataga, and engaged in a

variety of occupations—schoolteacher, farmer, coal merchant, and finally, soldier. The letters which he wrote to members of his family in New Hampshire treat of crops and prices, business conditions, and many other phases of life in Illinois at the time. They also tell an interesting and pathetic human story.

LASALLE
Sunday, Oct. 30, 1853.

DEAR FRIENDS,

Being at leisure, I write a few lines to informe[1] you of our situations and healths at the present time. We have not yet arrived at out journey's end. We expected to have arrived as soon as Saturday night but having been delayed by missing some trains of cars we have arrived at LaSalle in Illinois and are spending the Sabbath here. This plase is about 100 miles from Peoria where we intend to stop. We expect to go through tomorow and land at Charles Eastman's. We have had good luck so far and our healths are all very good.

We have come by land all the way excepting crossing one river in a Steam Boat. We have come verry fast when we have rode. We have rode 2 nights all night. We have rode on the lightening trains when we could. I mean by lightening that in this Country they have two trains on the same track and those who wants to ride like lightening take the first train.

We have all stood our journey very well and Mother Eastman remarkable well. In regard to the news I have none that will be interesting. I should think that the surrounding Country was the finest in the world by the looks and they say that business is very good. . . .

PEORIA, ILL.
Jan. 1, 1854

DEAR FRIENDS,

I wish you all a happy *New Year*, and would say that your highly interesting epistle, dated Nov. 20, was gratefuly received, by us all,

[1] Except for the omissions indicated, the exact text of these letters, with all their misspellings and errors of grammar and punctuation, has been reproduced here. Where the retention of the original spelling was confusing, the correct form of the word has been inserted in brackets. Except in the case of the one letter written by Mrs. Tebbetts, signatures have been dropped.

about a month subsequent to the date. I think it must have taken a zig-zag course in comming from New Hampshire to Illinois, to be so long in arriving. I feel gratified to say that prosperity has and still attends me in my western life. We are now enjoying a tolerable degree of health, and hope that Heaven bestows upon you the same blessing.

I commenced my school, here in Peoria,[2] at the time specified in my previous letter, have sixty-six scholars and prosper with the school exceedingly well. A large number of my scholars are men and women grown, and some of them *bouncers at that*, and, so far, they are entitled to commendation for the respect they have shown me. The people in this State are doing much more for the cause of Education than in N.H. 20 days is a month here for scholteachers, which is five days in a week.

You wished me to write to you about board and shoe business in this Country. Board is about the same here as at the East. There is no *Sale Shoes* made in this Country, but they say that a good *Custom* workman can do well.

We have a excellent boarding place, in a *Buck Eye* family, where, I get myself and family boarded for two dollars and a half per week, and Laura does our washing. Father Eastman has hired a house in Mattamora [Metamora], near Mr. Wilson's, for this Winter, and he and his family is there keeping house, commenced about a week after I wrote you my last letter. . . .

You wished me to write all the particulars of this Country, indeed, I have not room to do so. Suffice it then to say that the people in this Country have their advantages and disadvantages. They have the same disadvantages that the most of new countries have but after we look at that we will look on the other side and see the richness of the land. Here are thousands upon thousands of acres which lay spread before us like a map, bounded by nothing but deep blue sky and as rich as any garden that ever you saw. They say that they can raise Watter Mellons so large that a man can't carry them but that I have not seen yet, but I have seen the Corn crop and it is indeed a magnificent sight. Common farmmers raise from 1 to 5 thousand bushels of corn. They are in the hight of harvest now and laborers get six bits (which is 75 cts.) a day besides their board. They have no barns in this Country and they put their corn in cribs built with rails in the same manner that you would build a *Cobhouse*.

[2] Undoubtedly a subscription school. The free school system of Illinois originated with a law passed in 1854, but in most communities tax-supported schools were not organized immediately.

Please write me soon and tell me all the news. Write me how deep the snow is with you if you cannot find anything else to write about and I would just say that we have not had any snow yet in this Country of any account. You must recollect that now is the dead season of the year when all Nature seems shrouded with gloom which will disenable me to give you so fair a discription of the Country as I could in a more lively season. I have often heard you say that the people who emigrated from N. H. to Ill. would not come back for the reason that they could not get back, but sir there is hardly any who comes here and can settle who would go back if they could have the best farm in Barnstead given to them and be obliged to live on it. But the expence, hardships and trials of getting here were much greater than I expectected, but it cost me nothing for Father Eastman gave me enough to bare our expences. If you now have any idea of coming to this Country please informe me about it a long time before, as I think I am able to give you a great deal of instruction concerning the journey. Concerning the newspaper you mentioned I would say that I dont think the papers in this Country are so good as with you considering the price; but to the best of my knowledge the Peoria Weekly Republican is the best which is two dollars a year in advance besides the postage. . . .

PEORIA, ILL.
[Feb. 28, 1854]

DEAR MOTHER,—

It is now the last day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand, eight hundred & fifty four. I am still teaching school in Peoria County, Illinois. . . .

Since I last wrote general health has prevailed among us. I have been favored in my school, thus far, with an encouraging degree of success; *much better than I ever before experienced in School Teaching*, which I think is a fair commencement of Western Life. I have taught school every day since I commenced. We have one of the best of Boarding Places, and Laura and Henry is well. Henry grows very fast and bids fair to be one of Americans noblest sons. Father Eastman and his family is still at Mattamora, we heard from them not long since and they were all well and prospering.

It has been a beautiful day, and the sun is now just burying himself in the far off ocean of blue, and I am engaged in writing to you, while my thoughts are far, far away, in my native land. I am thinking of the hundreds of miles that separate me from the friends that

I love. I am recalling the delight with which I had, when a boy, viewed the farewell scenes of day from some of the many romantic hills of old New England. I am picturing the cheerful home of my parents, which I have left. I fancy I can see my mother move to the door with a slow step and heavy heart, and gaze with maternal affection toward the broad, the mighty west, and sigh, and wonder what has become of him who has strayed to the region of the far, *Far West.*

I often think of my father and mother—of my brothers and sisters —and of many other dear friends who dwell in *Yankee Land.*

I am so far well contented here and have as yet succeded well in all my undertakings.

Please write me soon and often and informe me of all the news in that vicinity; write me longer letters for there is news enough that will be interesting to me although trifling to you.

For Jane and Hiram!

Here I send you a List of my scholars' Names.

| | |
|---|---|
| William A. Welch | Silvester McMathan |
| Jacob C. Monninger | Thomas F. Smith |
| James Finley | Samuel M. Hart |
| John Finley | Margaret A. Runkle |
| James Bohanan | Sarah A. Runkle |
| Janes Vanarsdall | James P. Wiley |
| Joseph McCullough | Henderson W. Monroe |
| Catherine Runkle | Mary E. Patton |
| Martha A. Finly | Samuel McWiley |
| Frances Dusenbary | John Runkle |
| Martha E. Hollingsworth | William Graham |
| Virginia A. Monninger | John T. Walter |
| Ann M. Monninger | James S. Hollingsworth |
| Louisa H. Bohanan | Joseph Cox |
| Martha J. Patton | George Cox |
| Sarah C. McFadden | Nancy J. Graham |
| Mary J. McFadden | Mary E. Runkle |
| Ann E. Henney | James C. McIntire |
| Margaret Vanarsdall | William F. McIntire |
| Margaret McFadden | George Mahaffey |
| Ruth Ann Glasgow | James A. McCullough |
| Damaris Glasgow | James W. Warwick |
| Nathaniel Chiles | William Wiley |
| Thomas J. Irvan | Mary J. Chair |

| | |
|---|---|
| James Anderson | Samuel E. McCullough |
| John Wiley | Thomas Patton |
| Samuel S. Graham | Adlaid Bohanan |
| Alvira Bohanan | William S. McCullough |
| William Patton | John W. Winager |
| Martha D. McCracken | Mary E. Winager |
| John H. Hart | Joseph Wiley |
| George A. Hart | Samuel W. Young |
| Henry S. McCluer | Robert G. McCullough |
| Absolem Spencer | Paulina J. Glasgow |
| Alfred Kendall | Leander Mahaffey |
| James W. Shirt | John McIntire |

Leander Monninger

This is the number of my school who are constant attendants and thir [their] ages are from 5 to 21. I shall not be able to detain you long, this time, with news for nothing of any account has occured since I last wrote you. As for snow there is none here. We had one very tough snow storm not long since which fell about one inch and a half deep (but it all melted in two or three days), which is all the snow storm that we have had of any account this winter. As for a sleigh, *it* is not known in this Country.

The farmers are now employed in shelling and drawing their corn to market. They have shlling [shelling] machines here which will shell from fifteen hundred to two thousand bushels per day and is drawn by eight horses. And they also have small machines turned and tended by three men which will shell from one hundred and fifty to two hundred bushels per day &c.

It is estimated by the produse dealers of Peoria that there is 30 thousand bushels of grain drawn into this little Village and sold every day now[3]. . . .

METAMORA
May 21, 1854

MY DEAR BROTHER,

. . . . We are now residing in the family with Father Eastman's folks[4] and we are all well and have been since you last heard from us. I hired a piece of land containing 28 acre after I closed my school and bought me a horse and Father Eastman has three horses so that I changed and got one of his to work with mine to do my ploughing &c.

[3] At this time Peoria had a population of approximately 8,000.
[4] The Eastmans had settled in Metamora, then the Woodford County seat.

I have sowed 12 acres of my land to oats and planted the remaining 16 with Corn and I have done this with my horse without any help except what I have payed with labor in return and I have several days due me for horse labor. Yesterday I sold my horse for the same that I payed for him which was seventy-five dollars. When I was doing my ploughing I ploughed from 2 to 3 acres a day myself and a span of horses without any driver. I never ploud less than 2 acres and some days I ploughed *more* than 3 acres. I am now working out and if I am as healthy as I am now I can do my own work and work out considerable.

My oats looks as handsome as any that you ever saw and my corn I saw yesterday was just coming up and looks fine.

I dont have much news to write for I suppose Mrs. Wilson has told you the whole. She has told you about Father Eastman's farm I suppose but I would just say that it is, I dare say, 120 acres of as good land as there is in this State. He has sowed 20 acres of wheat ten acres of oats and planted 12 acres of corn and 2 acres of potatoes &c.

You will want to know whether I think now by the looks of things here that this country is as good as it was recomended. I can say that it is a much better farming country than it was recomended.

Farming is the best business a man can follow in this country. The people in this State defies the world to beat them in farming.

I succeeded well to the close of my school and gave, I think, entire satisfaction. I intend if I can to get this school in this district next winter.

You tell mother that she ought to send one piece of sugar more to give each of us a piece for Laura has presented me with a little daughter which is about five weeks old and is the handsomest child that you ever saw.

METAMORA, WOODFORD CO., ILL.
Sept. 4, 1854

MY DEAR PARRENTS,—

I received your letter in due season and was glad to hear from you. We are all enjoying a tolerable degree of health and prosperity. After we gave possession of the farm I and *my* family boarded at one of our neighbors about five weeks. The boys worked out and Father and Mother Eastman made their home at Mr. Wilson's, then they hired a house in the Village of Metamore and we all went there to keeping house together where we still remain.

We are now having in this Western Country the greatest drouth that was ever known. The drouth did not affect the wheat and oats much and so their [there] was a powerful crop, but there will be no potatoes and but a very little crop of corn. I have got as good a patch of corn as I have seen but there will not be more then [than] one half of an ordinary crop, and there are thousands of acres in this State that will not produce more than one bushel to the acre. There are corn fields here where the stalks are from 10 to 15 feet high all dried up so that it would burn like shavings.

A great many Cattle, Hogs and Horses have died on the Prairie for the want of watter. All the small streams have dried up and they have dug wells in the bottoms where the streams formily [formerly] ran. The wells have most all dried up and the people in this Village are paying 25 cents a barrel for watter which is no better than pond watter in New Hampshire.

In Bloomington they are paying 50 cents a barrel for watter to wash with. The oldest inhabitants say they never saw such a time before. The Cholera is raging in all the western cities. There has been but one case in this Village yet which was a man who went to LaSalle and caught it and died which was about two months since. It is *raging* in Peoria.[5]

*The weather is dreadfull hot here now.* The thermometer has been up as high as 150[6] degrees here. Every day, it seems, grows hotter and hotter. There has been no rain since August came in and but a very little before that, and there is no sign of ever having any more.

Father Eastman has not bough[t] yet, he and I have been traveling over the country a considerable and we have several pieces of land in view but he don't know which he will buy yet.

Henry is a great boy and talks quite well but the heat is most to [too much] for him. He is slim by spells like myself but we are in hopes that it will be cooler soon. The baby is the fattes[t] fairest and handsomest child which you ever saw in your life, I dare say.

Laura is fatter than you ever saw her. She sends much love to all the enquiring friends in the Yankee Land. I had a letter from Daniel day before yesterday & he was well.

Corn here is from 30 to 35 cents, wheat from 1.00 to 1.12½ cents per bushel, potatoes can't be bought, apples 1.00 per bushel, eggs 5 cents per dozen, cheese 10 cents per pound, butter 5 cents per pound, and other things in the same propo[r]tion.

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[5] Sporadic outbreaks of Asiatic cholera in the Middle West, 1850-1853, developed into a mild epidemic in 1854.

[6] Either a recording taken in the sun or a gross exaggeration, and probably both.

You may make up your mind to pay great prices for produce before a year from this if you have not raised enough for your own use. You must reccollect there will be a great quantity shipped to England if the European war continus[7]. . . .

SPARTA[8]
June 17, 1855

DEAR PARENTS,

. . . . We are prospering very well. You wished for me to write how far we lived from Metamore, it is about 80 miles but 80 miles is but a little distance on the Prairie.

We commenced after I closed my school, which was the first of March, to fence our farm. Father E. has got 120 acres of Prairie and I have got 40 acres. We have got it all fenced around. Father Eastman has got 20 acres of very fine white oak timber which is within 6 miles of his farm. We want you to tell Captain Parson that we have a farm of 160 acres as rich and handsome land as there is in the world, all suitable for tillage and all fenced in one field laying in a square body, ½ mile square. It is roling Prairie and he never looked over a field that looked half so handsome with such flattering prospecks of a great crop. Our farm lays one and a half miles from one depot, six miles from another and nine from another.[9] We could sell our farm any day for more than 3 times the amount that the Captain asks for his and tell him that he and his family would be better off if he would give away his scooch [Scotch?] grass and come to Illinois with his old mare and waggon and nothing else.

We have had two Prairie teams here breaking this spring and we have had to pay two dollars and a half per acre and board the men while they were breaking. I have got 10 acres of wheat and 30 acres of corn. Father Eastman has got 12 acres of wheat and 43 acres of corn and 1 acre of Potatoes and I have 1 acre Potatoes. The crops looks very promising indeed. You will see by reconing it up that we have 97 acres sowed and planted both of us and we have done all of this work, excepting the breaking, with four horses and drawed timber enough 6 miles to fence our farm which has taken 108 loads.

I have a span of the best horses that I ever drove. I keep them on grain. They have eat no hay of any account since I have owned them. I was offered one hundred and thirty dollars in gold for one of my horses a few days ago, which I payed 100 for last spring but

[7] The Crimean War, 1854-1856.
[8] A township in Knox County of which Sparta was the principal settlement.
[9] Probably Wataga, Knoxville and Galesburg.

that was not enough for her as she is noted as an extraordinary handsome tough and smart animal. . . .

Everything here is very high. Corn is 60 cents a bushel, flour from 6 to 9 dollars a barrel and other things in propotion.

I wish you could behold this Western Country now. I am sure you would bid those rocks farewell and flee to the far distant west. If you ever expect to come here to settle you must make haste for the land is rising. Land in our settlement is worth double now that it was one year ago and the prospects is that in one year it will be double what it is now.

We have engaged our butter, what we have to sell, at 15 cents a pound while others get only 12½ cents. A Yankee woman can make better butter than the succers.[10]. . .

SPARTA
Sept. 1st, 1855

DEAR PARENTS:

. . . . We have had a plenty of rain here this season and crops in general looks well. The wheat crop has been very large indeed and the country did not afford help enough to harvest it in season. I do not believe that there was more than two thirds of the wheat that grew in this country saved. Wages were two dollars a day for binders.

The wheat and oats in this country are all reaped by machines. A machine is drawn by four horses and will reap from 10 to 20 acres per day. Wheat has been so heavy this year that it has taken 9 or 10 hands to bind after one machine when 7 or 8 were sufficient last year. My wheat was good. I have not thrashed it yet. I can't tell how much I shall have.

The corn crop bids fair to be an enormous one. It is suposed that the yield will exceed any crop that ever have been raised. I have a little patch of corn of 30 acres which stands on a level 16 feet high and is the handsomest sight that you ever saw.

You wanted me to write to you about the price of goverment land and wood land. There is no goverment land in this part of the state but what is taken up. There is a plenty of Prairie which is not improved close by us, which is in the hands of speculators and they hold it at from 10 to 20 dollars per acre according to the quality. Wood land can be bought within 6 or 7 miles for from 20 to 30 dollars per acre. There is places in the state where as good land as this

[10] Suckers—long the colloquial name for Illinoisans.

is can be bought for 4 or 5 dollars per acre but it is fa[r]ther back on the Prairie and not so near a depot. But all land is rising in value at a rapid rate. You must not think that land can be bought for $1.25 per acre as they used to, for the country is to[o] old for that. Those who want to buy so cheap must go still father West to Iowa or some other newer state and they can get as good land as where we live for $1.25 per acre but it must be recollected that Iowa has no advantages in comparison with what we have in this state, it being so new a country. The people in Iowa very often have to draw their grain 100 miles to market, instead of 1 mile as we do and they labor under other disadvantages equally as great, but they are cutting these western states up with rail-roads like a checker board and one place will soon be worth nearly as much as any other. The land is all as good as you would or could ask for.

It is my heart's desire that you would sell your farm and come to the Western Country for I think that if you could sell at a reasonable price and have good luck in getting here you would be by far better off. I do not mean to picture this country any brighter than it really is and if you should come here in the winter season perhaps you would be a little homesick for the buildings in general are so much smaller. Lumber is 40 dollars per thousand and those who has money to spare, buys land with it, to speculate on, instead of laying it out in building a great house which they do not want to ocupy.

If you should come to this country now you would see it in all its glory. You might elevate yourself upon some building and you could cast your eye over the surounding country and you would think that the whole world was one field of corn. I know of one man near Peoria who has four thousand acres of corn all in one field. Hiram I am not telling you a lie but the truth. Their thrashing machines here are nearly ten times as large as yours you have. They require 8 or 10 horses to thrash and two men to feed the thrasher and they thrash with a speed equal to your imagination. I have 40 acres of land which is fenced and broke and no buildings on it and I would not give it for the best farm in Barnstead. . . .

Tell the girls that they had better be saving of their coppers and if they come out West with their husbands look out to see if they have got some men who are not so lazy as to get stuck in the Illinois mud. Tell me how Daniel is getting along the next time you write. Tell Hiram not to spend all of his strength in striking fire on them rocks but bring some of it out West.

SPARTA
Jan. 1st, 1856

DEAR FRIENDS,

. . . . I am now teaching school in the Village of Wataga,[11] which is about one and a half miles from here. I have thirty dollars a month and board at home and do my chors nites and morning. I do not have to teach but five days in a week and so I draw my wood Saturdays &c. I have taken the school for a term of three months and have kept two weeks and have a very pleasant school.

After I got able to work I hired a crew of hands and harvested my Corn in about three weeks. I have sold six hundred and fifty bushels of my Corn and have cribbed the ballace of it.

I was sorry to hear that Hiram had no inclination to come to this Country, for I have an idea of building me a house next summer and I want to raise a large quntity of grain if posible, and will have to have a hand and had rather have him than a stranger. I think it would be better for him to come and if you think that I do not offer him wages enough let me know what he would come for and perhaps I can afford to give him a little more.

Henry and Mary grows very fast and Henry is a great scholar and learns how to read and spell very fast.

This leaves us in good health. May it find you all enjoying the same. Give our best respects to all our Uncles and Aunts, friends and relations in the Yankee Land.

SPARTA
Feb. 8, 1857

MY DEAR PARENTS,

I received yours dated Jan. 26th last night and was glad to hear that you were all as well as you are. We are all well and have been since I last wrote you.

I have worked harder this Winter than ever before and am more healthy than ever before. Laura is well and does all her work herself. The Children are well and grows very fast. Henry is quite a man and can read quite smart. Mary is a clear witch the very image of her Mother and our sweet Anna[12] is the beauty and Pet of the family. We are having a cold winter here but have had no snow yet.

I did not finish gathering Corn till about the middle of January but the most of people are not done yet and a great many will not

[11] Northeast of Galesburg. Since Wataga was not platted until 1854, it was probably very small in 1856.

[12] The third Tebbetts child.

finish till ploughing time next spring. I have bought a lot of coal at the coal bank[13] (which is about two miles from here) and am now drawing it to Galesburg and selling it out. I draw 1 load a day and have drawed 29 loads and cleared 90 dollars on the 29 loads. I intend to continue drawing until the ground breaks up. I have but one span of horses and I draw from 40 to 50 hundred weight of coal at each load. I work my horses every day but they are fat and active as colts but I have a plenty of grain and *don't keep them on cob meal.* I have bought me a new waggon this winter for which I paid a hundred dollars.

Corn here is bringing 25 cts., wheat 80 cts., oats 25 cts., potatoes 1 dollar, apples 1 dollar, butter 25 cts., cheese 15 cts., &c.

GALESBURG
Dec. 7, '57

DEAR PARENTS,

. . . . The greatest news I have is the presure of money. We are having the hardest time for money that ever was known in the West. There has been a great many heavy failures in our immediate vicinity.[14] The Banks do not issue any money and it is imposible to loan any money for less than 33 per cent and hard to get at that. Produce do not bring much. Wheat brings 35 cts., Corn 20 cts., Potatoes 25 cts., Apples $1.00 per bush.

I live in Galesburg yet[15] and am in the Coal business. I have a hired hand and run two teams. The business is not very good at present owing to the hard time for money but we are looking for better days. . . .

You wrote me you should like to see me, Laura, Henry, Mary, Annah, but you did not think to say a word about my big Boy who will be 7 months old the twelvth of this month. He is very fat & large. He weighed 11½ lbs., when he was born and has got one tooth and a prospect of many more.

Laura does all her work herself, washing and all, and has her breakfast ready almost every morning at 5 o'clock.

Write me soon and often and direct your future letters to Galesburg, Ill. . . .

P.S. The baby's name is Charles Eastman.

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[13] Shaft mining was still in its infancy at this time. Most coal was taken from outcrops and slope mines.

[14] Business failures in the late summer of 1857 precipitated the panic of that year.

[15] When the Tebbetts family moved to Galesburg does not appear from the letters which have survived.

GALESBURG
May 16th, 1858

MY DEAR PARENTS

. . . . I am still living in Galesburg and we are having a very hard time here for money.

The principle news which I have to write is about the Terrific *Storm And Hurricane* which we had last Thursday afternoon. Between three and four o'clock in the afternoon the rain began to descend moderately, but soon increased and turned into the most powerful shower of hailstones ever known.

The hailstones were as large as hen's eggs, and continued to fall for about ten minutes or more, entirely covering the ground, breaking in windows & cutting off branches from trees. Nearly two-thirds of the windows in the city of Galesburg exposed to the drift of the storm were broken in. The storm subsided and it was thought no more danger was to be feared, but what followed shows that our hopes were groundles. The wind began to rise and drifted the clouds about in confusion. In ten minutes a perfect Pandemonium reigned without. So dence [dense] were the clouds that not a single object could be seen, but amid the roar of the elements, the crashing of buildings could be heard and the cries of those who were being drifted about the streets pelted by the storm.

The beautiful Brick Church edifice on Broad St. was blown into a perfect mass of ruins.[16] The wind had blown the steeple in upon the roof and the weight had so crushed the roof and the sides that the building as it remains is a perfect wreck. The Church was erected one year ago, and although not finished had already cost over $19,000.00. The Catholic Church was entirely destroyed.

The Engine house of the Northern Cross Railroad was leveled to the ground and the roofs blown off from the most of the highest buildings in the town.

Laura was alone with the children and it was with effort that she kept the house from blowing down. As fast as a pane of glass was broken she would stuf in rags &c which kept the wind out and saved the house. I was thre[e] miles from home when the storm commenced and I drove for home as fast as I could but could not reach here but got as far as the center of the city and drove to a post and tied my horses but they were so frightened that I could not leave them for fear they would get away so I clung to post and held them through about half of the shower before I could get anyone out to

[16] The Congregational Church.

help me unhi[t]ch them from the waggon. When I got home I found the family all right but the stable and out buildings all blown into atoms, nothing left but the house.

There was a man an[d] child in Galesburg blown away and not found yet. It is supposed that they were rowled [rolled] into the watter and strangled. Near Henderson a barn was blown down and killed one man, broke a boy's arm, and otherwise injured him. I have not heard of any being killed in Galesburg except the man and boy whom were blown away but there are a great many injured by having there limbs broken &c. . . .

WATAGA
Sept. 17, 1859

MY DEAR PARENTS

It has been a long time since I have heard from you and still longer since I wrote you but you must pardon my neglect as I have been deeply entangled in business. The financial distress of 1857 has played strange pranks with a great po[r]tion of the people in this part of the country so that nearly one half of our business men has failed. By one man's failure many failures are caused. Two years ago I could truly say that I had sixteen hundred dollars free from all debts but I have lost it all and now am not worth a cent in the world but thank Heaven I still have one great blessing left me, a dear wife and four sweet children and they are all enjoying tolerable good health.

Father we once had a good and happy home and at times it seems very hard to be deprived of such a *comfort* but we now are reconciled to our present lot and shall try just as hard for more as if we had not lost any thing, but been prosperous in all our undertakings. If we were alone in our troubles we should feel much worse than we do, but there are hardely one man about us but what has and is suffering the same calamity. Public houses and stores are fast closing and a dead silence seems to rain above and around us but we hope soon for better times; that is now the community's present comfort. Father [I hope I] have not done wrong in telling you my situation but I felt it my duty so to do. I hope you will not wory any thing about me for I have still a willing heart and hand. Henry wishes me to tell his Grand-Mother that he has [learned] the first half of the multiplication table. He is very quick in figures as well as every thing else he understands. . . .

P.S. You will of course want to know the cause of my losses. It is told in a very few words; it is by men failing and running away who owed me.

Wataga, Knox Co., Ill.
Jan. 28, [1860]

Dear Parents[17]

Knowing you would like to hear from your poor children I improve the first opportunity I have had since I last heard from you. As the inflammation has not quite left William's eyes I write instead of him, his eyes remain quite weak but the physicians say they think he will receive his full sight as soon as the approach of warm weather; we all hope this may prove true for he is very much troubled about reading, writing or any thing that requires close observation besides suffering from aches and pains; he works very hard all the time which I am afraid makes his eyes worse although he thinks it makes but little difference.

He is still in the speculation of coal which is full as good as any business about us for the present; business of all kinds remains low and dull, but all us western people are looking forward for better times.

The firm of Babcock & Wood, the first store built in the town of Wataga, which is not forty feet from our door, has fallen with the rest of the town. It was supposed this great firm would stand this dreadful shock without a fall but it has gone with thousands of others. These men two years ago were worth not less than forty five hundred thousand dollars. They now are not worth one dollar. They are eaven obliged to get in debt where ever they can for their daily bread. We think a great [deal] of these men for they were eastern people and seemed to do what was right.

Within one year there has been a law for the benefit of the poor; this is something never before heard of in the West, a house for the poor it is said cannot be found in any part of the Western Country although it at present is very much needed; mostly for widows and orphan children. I truely think if I had not children of my own I should have had quite a family of adopted ones for I have had my heart ache to its very core as I viewed the little suffer[er]s around me crying for the want of a mother's care, love and protection. This is heart rending to look uppon; particularly for a fond mother whose health is poor and fears sooner or later her darling birdlings may be thrown both motherless and friendless uppon the cold unfeeling world and suffer in both mind and body as do those above mentioned. But all we can do is to hope for the best for God directeth all things aright.

[17] This letter was written by Mrs. Tebbetts to her husband's parents.

Jan. 29th. Tis a beautiful day but very cold and the wind blows very hard. I feel in hopes this cold wind will bring us a little snow for we have had but about two inches this winter which was carried off by sleighs and sleds about as soon as it reached the ground. It lasted but about one day then our sport was all over. The children very often wish they could visit their grandpa Tebbetts for then they say he would take them out a sleighing and that would be a great treat. We often tell them of the big snow drifts, fine sleighing and also of the large rocks and big mountains that usto [used to] surround us which strikes them with perfect amasement and they quickly enquire why not go back and live in that beautiful Country instead of staying here in the mud that is so black and sticky.

Henry and Mary still remain at school and are doing well. Our school house is very near, not more than five minute's walk. . . .

Your true daughter

LAURA.

WATAGA, KNOX CO., ILL.
Aug. 20, 1860

DEAR PARENTS

. . . . The principle news of the day is political. This country is in a political blaze from one end to the other. I now see a liberty pole coming in town which is to be erected next Saturday. We have a Republican meeting here every Saturday. On next Tuesday there is to be a great Republican meeting in Galesburg. Judge Trumbal [Trumbull] is to speak and they expect to have the greatest gathering that ever was in Galesburg.

The next time you write I want you to write me what your politics are, whether you belong to the Republican Party or still stick to the old Democratic Party; I hope you are for old *Abe* for I am personally aquainted with him and he is a fine man and I think the future success of this country depends upon electing old Abraham Lincon for our next President.

WATAGA, KNOX CO., ILL.
Oct. 4, 61

MY DEAR PARENTS

I take this opportunity to write you a few lines to inf[o]rme you that I have not forgotten you. We are all enjoying tolerable good health at present although my health is not very good but it is very much better than it was when I wrote you last. I have taken the

High School in Wataga of which I spoke in my last letter; I have engaged it for a year for a salary of four hundred dollars; I commenced the first of August and I am meeting with good success. I have 36 scholars all young men and young ladies and of the first class in the Town; and I suppose that I have got the handsomest Hall for a school room that you ever saw.

I have no news at present but war news. I want you to write me a letter and let [me] know who has enlisted that I know. By all accounts the Eastern states are far behind the Western states in enlisting. Illinois is the first state in [the] union in this respect. Illinois has got sixty thousand troops now in the field besides a large number of regiments which are not full yet but will soon be full and sent forward. I think the President does very wrong by ordering so many troops from the west to Washington for I think the East ought to take care of itself.

I supose you know that there is very great danger that Illinois will be invaded and Masouri [Missouri] is the battle-field of the west and I supose you have heard of the death of Gen. Lyons and of the surrender of the Brave Muligan after fighting four days with only 3,500 soldiers against 30,000 rebels and the last 48 hours Muligan's troops were without a drop of water. He had to surender because he could not be reinforsed in consequence of six thousand of our best troops were then on the way to Washington. About half of the able bodyed men in Wataga have enlisted. Wataga has made up a company which is called the Knox Co. Tigers. If I had not engaged this school I think I should have joined then and went ahead. . . .

P.S. I suppose you know that the rebels have closed the Potomac. You can tell the people in N.H. that if they can't raise troops enough in the Eastern States to open that river that Illinois will turn out and go down and open it. . . .

Camp Douglas,[18] Chicago, Ill.
December 5th, 1861

My Dear Parents

. . . . I am still here in Camp Douglas and you may direct your future letters in the same manner that you did your last. The boys & I are well and harty; we had a letter today from Laura and our folks at home are all well. Laura lives in Wataga. I built an adition

[18] Camp Douglas, one of the two major concentration and training camps for Illinois volunteers, was located at the then southern limit of Chicago.

to my house and Father Eastman and Mother moved in and lives in one part of my house. I want you to write to Laura often for she will be glad to hear from you; she is very lonesome.

You wanted to hear me state the reason why Albert, Edwin & I enlisted.[19] Well I will tell you the sole reason why we enlisted was because our country needed our service. We could not bear the thought of seeing two thirds of the men in our town leaving their business and rushing to the battle field and to see then repeatedly whiped and we staying at home like cowards untill those rebels tear down and destroy the best goverment that ever was; a goverment for which our forefathers fought bled and died; but I closed my school which was the most pleasant school I ever taught and took my school boys and Albert & Edwin and went forth, gun in hand and our knapsacks straped upon our backs, saying that we will conquer or we will die. I have left a loving & beloved wife and five little children but I will not attempt to describe to you the sorrow it has caused but would only say that it is a great sacrafice.

There are about six thousand soldiers here in Camp Douglas and we expect soon to start into Masouri but you direct your letters to "Camp Douglas in Care of Cap. Holcomb if not there forward on" and we shall get them whereever we are.

You wanted me to write how we faired in camp. I would say that we are as comfortably situated as could be expected and we have enough to eat but our living is quite course [coarse]. You wanted to know how far we are from home now. We are about two hundred miles. I have not been home since I enlisted but I shall go home New Years if I can get a furlough. Tell Daniel & Hiram if they will enlist and go with me and get me a few more recruits in N.H. that I will send them a free pass so that they can come from N.H. to the army where I am. . . .

Camp Douglas, Chicago, Ill.
Jan. 4th, 1862

My Dear Parents

Your letter dated Dec. 27th was duely received and I was glad to hear from you. We are still in Camp Douglas but we have had orders to hold ourselves in readiness at any moment to receive marching orders so I do not expect to be here long; I expect to have to go to Kentucky but do not know for a certain.

[19] Albert and Edwin Eastman, probably brothers-in-law of Tebbetts, and William H. Tebbetts enlisted on October 22, 1861.

The health in this camp is very good; there are only about two hundred sick in the hospital now and the most of them are sick with the measels. I am well with the exception of being afflicted somewhat with the sore eyes. Albert & Edwin are well and couragous young men; they send their love and respect to you all.

I was at home Christmas on a furlough of four days and the folks were all well. I have been here nearly three months and have not drawn any pay yet consequently if you should have a few dollars of money that you could spare please send it to Laura for she has got five little children to provide for and I did not leave her but a little means when I left. If you help her some you may be rewarded for it some day.

Those who stay at home must remember that we are endureing hardships that no man can endure who stay at home and we are soldiering for them as much as for ourselves. Our company was raised in our own town and nearly half of them are good respectable men who has left th[e]ir wives and little ones and gone forth to defend the rights of their country; we have been transfered from the 56 regiment to the 45 or Lead mine regiment and we are very much satisfied with the change for we have got a splendid set of men as you ever saw. The men are full of pluck and snorting for a battle.

You would do well to take a western paper so you could get the war news in the west and perhaps you will hear of our regiment through the Papers and if you do you will hear of brave fighting being done by the Lead mine regiment I am sure. I would write you more but my eyes will not admit at present.

Direct your future letters to

Wm. H. Tebbetts
Comp. K, 45th Regt. of
Ill. Volenteers in
Camp Douglas
Chicago, Illinois

(Care of Capt. Holcomb.
If not there forward on).

Fort Donolson, Tenesee
March 2d, 1862

My Dear Sister

I received your letter in due season and it gladdens my heart very much to hear from home once more. We have been in two big battles since I last wrote you; we were at the bombardment of Fort Henry and was in the battle of Fort Donelson which was the largest battle,

in some respects that ever was fought on the American continent;[20] it lasted four days and nights, all of which time we were in the line of battle without any rest or sleep.

We lost about one thousand killed and two thousand wounded. I was strucked by a ball which was nearly spent and knocked down on the last day of the fight but was not permently injured, it merely bruised me a little.

You probably have got a full particular of the battle through the newspaper and as it rains now very hard and our tent leaks so that it is very difficult for me to write, especially when we have no convenience to write excepting on our knee, I will not attempt to write you the particulars of the fight. Our regiment was in the hottest of the fight but we were very fortunate we lost but a few out of our regiment. We have reasons to praise the Lord that it is as well with us as it is, for I have seen trees a foot and a half through cut entirely of[f] by the canon balls and I have had balls strike the trees at full force not more than a foot from my head and I have had shells burst within a rod of me and throw the dirt all over me but it appears that the Lord has still more work for me to do. I enlisted to defend the rights of my country, I came here for the purpose of fighting, I expect to fight till the last armed foe expires. I often think of my home and the comforts which I have left there while I am endureing such hardships and deprivations but I am not sorry that I enlisted for all that.

Excuse me at this time for not writing more for this is my third letter that I have written today, one to Laura, one to Daniel and this to you.

Write often and write me all the news. Direct your next letter to Cairo as you did your last for there is no mail this side of that place, the letters are brought by goverment transports from that place.

Albert and Edwin sends their respects to you all. Give my love and respects to all enquiring friends.

This leaves us enjoying good health. May it find you all enjoying the same blessing.

This is the last letter of the series. The reason is to be found in the *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois*. There, after the name of Private William H. Tebbetts, Company K, 45th Illinois Infantry, comes this brief notation: "Killed at Shiloh, Apr. 6, '62."

[20] Grant's capture of Forts Henry and Donelson, February 6 and 16, 1862, were the first important northern victories of the war.

# HISTORICAL NOTES

## A FACE ILLUMINED

It was a crisp frosty morning in early November. From early dawn, the air had been filled with the shrill cries of newsboys calling "Extra! Extra! All about the election, get the latest news," etc., etc., proclaiming the fact that an important election had just been held.

About ten o'clock that morning, my partner and I, standing in the front part of our store, noticed a farm wagon stopping at the curb. The old lady sitting on the seat we knew at once to be one of our German customers who lived on her farm about six miles south of town—Mansfield, Ohio.

Rather short in stature, quite plump and heavy, it was with some difficulty that she got down from her high perch on the driver's seat, and finally entered the store. My associate went up to her immediately and extending his hand, greeted her with: "Good morning, good morning, my congratulations. Do you know that you are the mother of the Governor of one of the greatest states in our Union?"

"Ja, Ja," she said, in German, as she removed the heavy scarf which muffled and concealed her features, "We had it already heard."

And then I looked at her face. Her bright eyes were suffused with tears, and her plump cheeks shone with the red glow of polished apples, but the expression of pride, joy, and happiness which I saw transformed her homely German features into something almost sublime.

Her whole face seemed to radiate light, and I felt as I turned my face away that I had seen something very sacred indeed. *A face illumined*!

That simple lovable old German farm woman was the mother of John Peter Altgeld, newly elected Governor of Illinois!

JOHN E. ANGLE

MANSFIELD, OHIO

## BASEBALL IN CAIRO: A FOOTNOTE TO ILLINOIS HISTORY

Baseball is a dynamic game. Never in its history has it been static. The sport and all that goes with it have had their styles and trends, just as there have been fashions in clothes, coiffures, and women's hats. One appreciates this all the more if he occasionally dips into the history of the game. What was baseball like—let us say three-quarters of a century ago? How did the newspapers treat the game? What were the relations between competing teams from different cities?

The writer became interested in these questions, and in an attempt to answer them turned to one of the most baseball-minded cities in the Middle West in the years right after the Civil War—the city of Cairo, Illinois. Let us examine the situation there in 1867. At that time this city which had had an important role in the war between the states—General Ulysses S. Grant had made it his headquarters for some time—was resuming its peacetime activities. The people of Cairo had a reputation for enjoying recreation and games, and it comes as no surprise that baseball was restored in full blossom early in the Reconstruction Era.

Apparently the city could boast of several teams, but the one which was conceded to be the most important was the Eclipse Baseball Club. It played teams from the surrounding towns, and had as its particular rival the Quicksteps from Paducah, Kentucky. There seems to have been some difficulty in getting these two teams together, but finally on Tuesday, September 19, 1867, a game was arranged. It had been anticipated for a considerable period, and a Cairo writer called it "the long talked of match game."

The Paducah club arrived at Cairo by steamboat at noon on the day of the game, and the visitors were met at the landing by the Eclipse players who escorted them to a hotel. (Imagine the Red Sox assembling at Boston harbor in 1940 to greet the invading New York Yankees!) Anyhow, the Quicksteps were then the luncheon guests of the Cairo club, following which a reporter on a local newspaper related:

> After dinner crowds of our citizens might be seen wending their way to the grounds of the Eclipse Club, which had been placed in good condition, and at 2 o'clock, when the contending clubs arrived on the ground, at least four hundred spectators, many of them ladies,

were awaiting anxiously for the game to commence. Very little time was lost, and at 2:13, the Quicksteps having won the toss, went to the bat.

Observe that only thirteen minutes were allowed for batting and fielding warm-ups, for both teams. Also that feminine attendance at the old ball game isn't original with the Ladies' Day game of the twentieth century.

We can follow the course of that game by reading the inning-by-inning account (that type of reporting isn't new either) of a couple frames, as related in *The Cairo Democrat*:

The first innings of the Quicksteps was not remarkable for fine playing, and resulted in their going out with but one run.

The first innings of the Eclipse was about the same, only more so, ending in a whitewash.

In the second innings the Quickstep boys got down to their work, striking finely and went out with a score of five.

The Eclipse next to bat in their second innings, determined to "do or die;" and succeeded by good play in scoring six.

Meanwhile, the Paducah team found its batting eye, and the ninth inning, according to the reporter, went as follows:

The Quicksteps in their ninth did some tall playing, making a score of fifteen.

The next ended in a whitewash for the Eclipse.

With the game over, the umpire, A. T. Harris, announced the result, and it was found that the final score was Paducah 43, Cairo 16.

But with good sportsmanship:

The Eclipse boys then gave three rousing cheers for the victorious Quicksteps, and the Quicksteps gave three and a tiger for their opponents, three for the Umpire and scorers, and three for the ladies of Cairo.

Baseball reporting three-quarters of a century ago can be studied by noting the way in which *The Cairo Democrat* further handled this game. Four decks of headlines were used and, contrary to modern practice—which insists that the final score should appear in the headline—the game was bannered thus:

THE NATIONAL GAME
MATCH BETWEEN PADUCAH
AND CAIRO
A LARGE ATTENDANCE
THE QUICKSTEPS OF PADUCAH
THE VICTORS

The story of the game was a long one—possibly twenty-two paragraphs—and this gives lie to the belief on the part of many that sports were generally ignored in the American press until our own generation. Moreover, a box score—inadequate by modern standards, but still a box score—appeared at the end of the story, and revealed that each team had played without substitutions.

These nineteenth century journalists had their prejudices, and in the game story in *The Democrat* it was observed: "It is but justice to the Eclipse Club to say that their pitcher, and best player, was out of the city. The fact is, our boys need practice!" The reporter then added that he hoped "to give a better report" in future games between the teams.

One of the surprising discoveries concerning baseball of three-quarters of a century ago is the fact that newspapers devoted long editorials to the games. Concerning the contest just discussed, this gem appeared in the Cairo press:

WHY THEY BEAT US. The match game of Base Ball yesterday between the Paducah "Quicksteps" and the "Eclipse" Club of Cairo drew out quite a large crowd of citizens. Much to the surprise of everybody there were only two members of the "Eclipse" first nine on the ground—a fact which necessitated the choice of seven players from the bystanders. The Cairo boys, determined to do the courteous thing and give their red-capped adversaries a "fair show," commenced the game with the following *nine*: Two regular members; a man with one eye; a club footed Missourian; a man with a cork hand; two men on crutches; a McCracken [Kentucky] county merchant with the itch, and the "local" [press representative] of the Paducah *Herald* drunk. Under such palpable disadvantages the Cairo boys commenced, and did well, leading their adversaries until about the fifth inning when the Kentucky merchant called "Time" to scratch, during which time the Paducah local fell *hors du combat* in a manly contest with a pint bottle. Of course this demoralized the balance, leaving the Paducah club masters of an advantage of which they very ungenerously availed themselves, and won the game.

But returning to the players themselves, we find that after the game the two clubs and a few friends sat down to what was described as "a sumptuous repast" at the Continental Hotel, and then the visitors returned to Paducah. In view of their victory and the hospitality enjoyed, an observer was probably accurate when he noted that the Kentuckians were "highly pleased with the manner in which they were treated."

Two weeks later a return game was scheduled at Paducah. On hearing the final score of this one—Quicksteps 65, Eclipse 30—the Cairo editor was dumbfounded. He wrote that there must be some explanation for this, and he certainly intended to find out what it was!

RICHARD L. BEYER

CARBONDALE, ILL.

## MANNERS EPISTOLARY, 1850

### Letter From A Gentleman To A Lady, Disclosing His Passion

Madam,

Those only who have suffered them, can tell the unhappy moments of hesitating uncertainty which attend the formation of a resolution to declare the sentiments of affection; I, who have felt their greatest and most acute torments, could not, previous to my experience, have formed the remotest idea of their severity. Every one of those qualities in you which claim my admiration, increased my diffidence, by showing the great risk I run in venturing, perhaps before my affectionate assiduities have made the desired impression on your mind, to make a declaration of the ardent passion I have long since felt for you.

My family and connexions are so well known to you, that I need say nothing of them; if I am disappointed of the place I hope to hold in your affections, I trust this step will not draw on me the risk of losing the friendship of yourself and family, which I value so highly, that an object less ardently desired, or really estimable, could not induce me to take a step by which it should be in any manner hazarded.

I am, madam,
Your affectionate admirer and sincere friend.

### The Answer

Sir,

I take the earliest opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your letter, and the obligations I feel to you for the sentiment expressed in it; and assure you, that whatever may be the event of your solicitations in another quarter, the sentiments of friendship I feel, from a long acquaintance with you, will not be in any manner altered.

There are many points besides mere personal regard to be con-

sidered; these I must refer to the superior knowledge of my father and brother, and if the result of their inquiries is such as my presentiments suggest, I have no doubt my happiness will be attended to by a permission to decide for myself.

At all events, I shall never cease to feel obliged by a preference in itself sufficiently flattering, and rendered still more so by the handsome manner in which it is expressed; and I hope, if my parents should see cause to decline the proposed favor of your alliance, it will not produce such disunion between our families, as to deprive us of friends, who possess a great portion of our esteem and regard.

I am, sir,

Your obliged and sincere friend,

And humble servant.

### Letter From A Father To His Son At School

I could not, my dear child, give a more convincing proof of my affection for you, than in submitting to send you to so great a distance from me. I preferred your advantage to my own pleasure, and sacrificed fondness to duty. I should have done this sooner, but I waited till my inquiries had found out a person whose character might be responsible for your education; and Mr. Browne was at length my choice for that important trust. Your obedience, therefore, must be without murmuring or reluctance; especially when you reflect that a strict attention to his appointments, and an implicit compliance with his commands, are not only to form the rule of your safe conduct in this life, but to be preparatory to your happiness in the next. With regard to your school connexions, it is impossible for me to give you any instructions at present. All that I shall now say to you on this subject is, quarrel with no one, avoid meddling with the disputes of others, unless with a view to promote an accommodation; and though I would wish you to support the dignity of a youth, be neither mean nor arrogant. I have nothing more now to add, than to pray God to give you grace and abilities, and that your own endeavors may second the views of

An affectionate father.

### Letter From A Youth At School To His Father

I am infinitely obliged to you, honored Sir, for the many favors you have bestowed upon me; all I hope is, that the progress I make

in my learning will be considered as some proof how sensible I am of your kindness. Gratitude, duty, and a view to my own future advantage, equally contribute to make me thoroughly sensible how much I ought to labor for my own improvement, and your satisfaction. I have received the books you sent for my amusement. The "Princes of Persia" I have almost finished, after which I shall peruse Mrs. Chapone's Letters on the Improvement of the Mind. They please me much. The liberal allowance of money you have been pleased to make me, shall be applied in the best manner I am able. I am sure my dear father will not censure me, should I devote a part of it towards the relief of the wretched and unfortunate. Pray give my most dutiful respects to my mother, my kindest love to my brothers and sisters, and believe me, dear sir,

Your most dutiful and affectionate son.

*Fashionable Letter Writer*
(Merriam, Moore & Co., 1850), 65-67, 101-102.

## ETIQUETTE FOR ELDERLY GIRLS

[Aged thirty-five]

A brisk correspondent writes to us that she finds our restrictions as to the etiquette which single women should follow somewhat embarrassing. Being now thirty-five, and at the head of her father's house, with no intention of ever marrying, she asks if she requires a chaperon; if it is necessary that she should observe the severe self-denial of not entering an artist's studio without a guardian angel; if she must never allow a gentleman to pay for her theatre tickets; if she must, in short, assume a matron's place in the world, and never enjoy a matron's freedom. . . .

As to visiting an artist's studio alone, there is in art itself an ennobling and purifying influence which should be a protection. But we must not forget that saucy book by Maurice Sand, in which its author says that the first thing he observed in America was that women (even respectable ones) went alone to artists' studios. It would seem wiser, therefore, that a lady, though thirty-five, should be attended in her visits to studios by a friend or companion. This simple expedient "silences envious tongues," and avoids even the remotest appearance of evil.

In the matter of paying for tickets, if a lady of thirty-five wishes to allow a gentleman to pay for her admission to picture-galleries and theatres she has an indisputable right to do so. But we are not fighting for a right, only defining a law of etiquette, when we say that it is not generally allowed in the best society, abroad or here. In the case of young girls it is quite unallowable, but in the case of a lady of thirty-five it may be permitted as a sort of *camaraderie*, as one college friend may pay for another. The point is, however, a delicate one. . . .

"An old maid," as our correspondent playfully calls herself, may do almost anything without violating etiquette, if she consents to become a chaperon, and takes with her a younger person. Thus an aunt and niece can travel far and wide; the position of an elder sister is always dignified; the youthful head of a house has a right to assert herself—she must do it—therefore etiquette bows to her (as "nice customs courtesy to great kings"). There is very much in the appearance of a woman. It is a part of the injustice of nature that some people look coquettish who are not so. Bad taste in dress, a high color, a natural flow of spirits, or a loud laugh have often caused a very good woman to be misinterpreted. Such a woman should be able to sit in judgment upon herself; and remembering that in a great city, at a crowded theatre, or at a watering-place, judgments must be hasty and superficial, she should tone down her natural exuberance, and take with her a female companion who is of a different type from herself. Calm and cold Puritanical people may not be more respectable than the fresh-colored and laughing "old maids" of thirty-five, but they look more so, and in this world women must consult appearances. An elderly girl must even think how she looks. A woman who at a watering-place dresses conspicuously, wears a *peignoir* to breakfast, dyes her hair, or looks as if she did, ties a white blond veil over her locks and sits on a hotel piazza, showing her feet, may be the best, the most cultivated woman in the house, but a superficial observer will not think so. In the mind of every passer-by will lurk the feeling that she lacks the first grace of womanhood, modesty—and in the criticism of a crowd there is strength. A man passing such a person, and contrasting her with modestly dressed and unobtrusive ladies, would naturally form an unfavorable opinion of her; and were she alone, and

her name entered on the books of the house as "Miss" Smith, he would not be too severe if he thought her decidedly eccentric, and certainly "bad style." If, however, "Miss" Smith were very plain and quiet, and dressed simply and in good taste, or if she sat on the sands looking at the sea, or attended an invalid or a younger friend, then Miss Smith might be as independent as she pleased: she would suffer from no injurious comments. . . .

There is, no doubt, a great pleasure in the added freedom of life which comes to an elderly girl. "I can wear a velvet dress now," said an exceedingly handsome woman on her thirtieth birthday. In England an unmarried woman of fifty is called "*Mrs.*," if she prefers that title. So many delightful women are late in loving, so many are true to some buried love, so many are "elderly girls" from choice, and from no neglect of the stronger sex, that to them should be accorded all the respect which is supposed to accrue naturally to the married. "It takes a very superior woman to be an old maid," said Miss Sedgwick.

MRS. JOHN SHERWOOD, *Manners and Social Usages* (1884), 153-59.

## CASSANDRA OF THE FIFTIES

Reform is the watchword of the day, and change the motto of every strong-minded woman or man in America. . . . The women have found out that they are terribly wronged, and they are up in arms all over the country to obtain their rights. Their attention was first called to the article of dress, or rather to one article of dress, which for centuries had been monopolized by the male portion of community in civilized countries—the east and extreme north being exceptions. Pantaloons, or nothing, was the war cry of the strong-minded women. Bloomerism arose, and made a tremendous stir for a while, but decency frowned it down; it wasn't becoming.

Having, to use a Yankeeism, *caved in* on the matter of dress, the strong-minded women now go for the electoral franchise; not satisfied with being the "power behind the throne greater than the throne itself," they want the privilege of taking an active part in the elections. A certain philosopher once said, "the women govern everything; because they govern those who govern all things." But our

female reformers are not content with an unseen power, they desire to deposit their votes in the ballot boxes themselves. Just imagine the delicate creatures at the polls in the fourth ward, New York, at a contested election, or engaged in a similar patriotic service in the furious ninth, at Baltimore. Wouldn't some reasonable minds pause, and ask is this the true sphere of woman?

Alas! we are forced to the conviction that this agitating and uneasy class of women have been but too truly named; they are *strong*-minded women indeed; but we tremble for their modesty, delicacy, and truthfulness to the purity and sweet characteristics of their better natures. When woman seeks the notoriety referred to, when she "oversteps the modesty of nature," then she ceases to challenge that love and respect which man so naturally accords to her. Let them be cautious, then, and rather seek retirement than publicity, and aspire only to reign in their domestic realm, and over the hearts of their husbands.

*Gleason's Pictorial*, July 9, 1853, p. 29.

## THE COLLECTION OF OLD FURNITURE, 1878

The latest mania among fashionable people is a passion for the collection of old furniture. They seem to ignore the fact that there were just as many bad workmen a hundred years ago as there are now. Because an article happens to be old, it is no proof of its merit. The major part of old-fashioned furniture, selling as such in the market to-day, is bad in construction, inartistic and worthless for the purposes of modern housekeeping; moreover, much of it, especially the china and brasses, are counterfeit. But fools and their money are soon parted, and for the past ten years the second-hand dealers and junk-shop keepers have done a flourishing business. They have their agents out all over the country, ransacking out-of-the way corners in search of something old-fashioned, and some of the dealers send over to Italy for their goods. It makes very little difference, they say, what is sent back. If it is old it sells readily. Much of this trade is of a confidential nature. Some persons are ashamed to acknowledge what they have sold, and others what they have bought. Moreover, a curious feature of this fashion is the aid

it affords people desiring to lay claim to a respectable ancestry. For this purpose nothing is more suggestive than a set of mahogany chairs with leather seats, in one's dining-room. A brass-mounted chest or a spinning-wheel in the guest-chamber provokes inquiry as to its history.

*Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine*
Nov., 1878, p. 437.

# NEWS AND COMMENT

The donation of Governor Henry Horner's Lincoln library to the Illinois State Historical Library was announced on April 24. Governor Horner has been building his collection for some forty years and it is now generally recognized as the largest and finest private collection of printed Lincolniana in existence. There are some 2,000 books, 3,700 pamphlets, and 800 programs, catalogs, and miscellaneous items now included in the library.

New shelves will soon be installed for this library in the quarters of the Historical Library, located on the third floor of the Centennial Building in Springfield. The entire collection will be kept intact and will be known as "The Henry Horner Lincoln Collection."

The Governor's letter making the offer of the gift, addressed "To the Board of Trustees and Librarian of the Illinois State Historical Library: Oliver R. Barrett, Lloyd Lewis, Irving Dilliard and Paul M. Angle," stated:

"Nothing has given me more pleasure during the last eight years than the sight of ever-increasing numbers of people entering our Illinois State Historical Library to study the inspiring records and mementoes of our State's glorious past. One cannot see this sight day after day without realizing that this Library is making a significant cultural contribution not only to the State of Illinois, but to the whole nation.

"It is most fitting that the Illinois State Historical Library, which stands in Lincoln's home town in the very heart of the nation, should be now supreme in Lincolniana. The historical record of Illinois' greatest son, Abraham Lincoln, is now more completely told here than in any other place in the world, and this Library will stand for all time as the shrine where pilgrims must come to learn just what kind of man, and how great, he was.

"For years I have had in mind to present to the Illinois State Historical Library my own collection of books about Lincoln. Since I am, eight months hence, to leave my home that stands so close to the Library, I wish to offer you my collection at this time, asking

only that you receive it in the name of the people of Illinois, and that you make it henceforth permanently available to any and all who may come to study Lincoln. If you can do this you will make me the happiest of men.

"As Trustees and Librarian, you have served Illinois and history with such diligence and unselfishness that I wish to make this gift at a time when it shall have the particular benefit of your ideas as to how it can be made of greatest possible use to the people, whether they be the most scholarly of historical researchers or the humblest of school children."

Formal acceptance of the offer was made in the letter of the trustees to the Governor which declared:

"The Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library accept the magnificent gift of your Lincoln Collection with the deepest gratitude. The Library would never have reached its present eminence except for the generosity of many public-spirited citizens, but no gift which has ever been bestowed upon it approaches yours in value and historical importance.

"Knowing how and why you have made your collection, how it has been assembled over forty years with the true historian's care, and how your own unmeasured devotion to Lincoln has prompted you to find rare books and pamphlets in obscure or secret places, we shall do our utmost to make this great gift a perpetual source of knowledge and inspiration to the people of the state and nation.

"With your permission, we shall designate this collection as 'The Henry Horner Lincoln Collection,' and permanently preserve its identity in the Library.

"On behalf of the people of Illinois, we thank you."

In the scenic and historic region of southern Illinois, the forty-first annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held on May 9-11. The meeting opened in Cairo on the evening of May 9 and ended with a trip to Jonesboro, Mound City, and Cairo on May 11. This was the first time the Society had ever assembled so far south. A large number of people took advantage of the opportunity

to hear a fine program as well as see an interesting country, now experiencing a great oil boom.

The following program was arranged: Thursday evening, May 9, Carbondale, "An Illinois Scientist's Thrilling Adventures in Arctic Exploration," James A. James, president Illinois State Historical Society; Friday, May 10, Carbondale, morning, business meeting; afternoon, "Egypt's Cultural Contributions," G. W. Smith, Carbondale; "Rivers that Meet in Egypt," Barbara Burr Hubbs, Murphysboro; "Robert G. Ingersoll," C. H. Cramer, Carbondale; complimentary tea; evening, Giant City State Park, annual dinner, "Southern Illinois: Typical American Melting Pot," Roscoe Pulliam, president Southern Illinois Normal University; " 'Black Jack' Logan," Lloyd Lewis, Chicago; music by Robert Dunn Faner, Miss Kate Bunting accompanist; Saturday, May 11, trip to Jonesboro, Mound City National Cemetery, Cairo, luncheon at Cairo Hotel, greetings by Miss Effie Lansden, librarian A. B. Safford Library.

At the business meeting of the Society the following officers were elected: Clint Clay Tilton, president; John H. Hauberg, Theodore C. Pease, George W. Smith, Wayne C. Townley, and Ernest E. East, vice-presidents; Paul M. Angle, secretary-treasurer. Two new directors were named at this time, Willard R. Matheny and Richard L. Beyer.

Richard Lee Strout, in his preface to *Maud*,[1] has this to say about this unusual book:

"This is the story of a young girl who lived in a Louisa Alcott sort of home in a rough steamboating town on the Mississippi in the eighties and wrote for *Godey's Ladies' Book*, went to St. Louis art school (where she drew from the nude), took the leading part in Opera House theatricals, and carried off a literary prize for a novel about a place in North Carolina which she had never seen. All the young men of Cairo, Illinois (for that was her home), fell in love with her, and she tried to reform most of them, and they loved her all the more. She read the Declaration of Independence on the Fourth of July on the town square in a white dress while her mother, an

[1] Macmillan, $3.50.

ardent feminist, set up lemonade stands to combat the 'beer interest.' She graduated from high school the year after President Garfield was shot, and spoke her piece from the Opera House stage before a backdrop showing the 'inner room of a palace' with 'tall beryl pillars, statues and flights of marble steps fading into the background.' "

*Maud*—the published journals of Isabella Maud Rittenhouse of Cairo, Illinois—has so much appeal as a human document that its historical value is likely to be overlooked. It would be difficult, however, to name another single volume which expresses as well as this the essence of American life in the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

With the close of the Revolutionary War the great westward movement of the American people began. In 1890—little more than a century later—the last frontier officially disappeared. The mass movement of the people was an amazing achievement; but scarcely less amazing was the high level of civilization which they maintained in the midst of a life-and-death struggle with the elemental forces of nature. For this achievement a large share of the credit must go to the missionary and preacher, often in the vanguard of the pioneers, never far in the rear. The missionary, represented in Illinois by such men as John Mason Peck and Peter Cartwright, was a powerful influence on the side of morality, regard for law, and education. Without him, successive frontier regions might well have been vastly different—and vastly worse—places in which to live than they were.

In *Home Missions on the American Frontier*, Colin B. Goodykoontz,[2] gives a detailed account of the Protestant home missionary movement from the colonial period to the end of the nineteenth century. Packed with facts, the book will be permanently valuable not only as a study of a great movement, but also as an encyclopedia of men and churches. Appropriately, Illinois and Illinoisans come in for frequent and extended mention.

[2] Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho. $3.50.

The latest addition to the Columbia University Studies in the History of American Agriculture is a reprint of *American Husbandry*, an anonymous work published in London in 1775. Although a source of first importance for American agricultural practices of the period, the book has been almost unavailable in this country. The present reprint[3] makes its text readily accessible, and at the same time, through introductions by Lyman Carrier and Harry J. Carman, enhances its value.

*American Husbandry* deals in the main with the British seaboard colonies and her West Indian possessions. A short chapter on Illinois is based principally on Charlevoix's observations. The author's own conclusions—his identity is still unknown—are interesting chiefly because they missed their mark so widely. Illinois, he predicted, would find its principal export staples in tobacco, wine and silk! This prediction, however, is a minor aberration in a generally sound and valuable book.

Carl Van Doren, famous literary critic and biographer, was born in the village of Hope, Vermilion County, Illinois, in 1885, and lived there and on a farm a mile away until he was fifteen. The story of these years is the subject of *An Illinois Boyhood*,[4] a separately printed section of Mr. Van Doren's autobiography, *Three Worlds*.

*An Illinois Boyhood* is a satisfying account of a boy's growth under conditions which no longer exist. Hope had no telephones, and little contact with the world more than four or five miles distant. Life centered in the church, the school, and the family, and there were few diversions to interrupt the hard work of the farm. Yet as the author calls back those years he finds them good—not only because they left a happy impress on his memory, but also because they constituted what he considers an adequate preparation for maturity.

It is appropriate that Dr. Walter Dill Scott should mark the last year (1939) of his long presidency of Northwestern University by publishing *John Evans: An Appreciation*,[5] for John Evans was one

[3] *American Husbandry*, edited by Harry J. Carman. Columbia University Press, $5.00.

[4] Viking Press, $1.00.

[5] Privately Printed. By Courtesy of Lester J. Norris, Evanston, 1939.

of the founders of the University and President of its Board from 1851 until 1894. He was also the founder of Evanston. Those two distinctions would be sufficient for most men, but somehow John Evans found time to be one of Chicago's leading physicians, an extensive railroad builder, a Republican politician of considerable consequence, and a leader in religious, social and educational movements. Dr. Scott's little book is a timely reminder of a notable man.

In Julius Rosenwald, Illinois produced and nurtured a man who will be gratefully remembered as long as charity remains a human virtue. His success as a man of business was outstanding, but his fame springs from his conviction that wealth should be returned to the society which created it, rather than retained by the individual fortunate enough to accumulate it. Acting on this conviction, he gave away the astounding sum of $63,000,000 during his lifetime.

Julius Rosenwald was born in Springfield, Illinois, in 1862, in a house a block west of the home of Abraham Lincoln. There he lived until 1879, when he went to New York to work in the clothing business of his uncles. Seven years later he and a cousin established the firm of Rosenwald and Weil in Chicago. In 1895 he purchased a one-quarter interest in the firm of Sears, Roebuck and Company, for $37,500. From that investment, and the energy and vision which he put into the new business, his great fortune developed.

The story of Julius Rosenwald is told in detail in *Julius Rosenwald: The Life of a Practical Humanitarian*, by M. R. Werner,[6] author of *Barnum*, *Brigham Young*, *Bryan*, and other notable biographies. The book is a valuable contribution to the history of Illinois, as well as a satisfying portrait of a fine human spirit.

"The Congregationalists" is the sub-title of the third volume[7] of the series *Religion on the American Frontier, 1783-1850*—a collection of source materials appearing under the editorship of William Warren Sweet, Professor of the History of American Christianity, the University of Chicago.

[6] Harper, $3.50.

[7] *Religion on the American Frontier, 1783-1850: The Congregationalists*, edited by William Warren Sweet. University of Chicago Press, $3.00.

Two chapters of "The Congregationalists"—practically a third of the book—relate directly to Illinois. In Chapter VI appear the full texts of the minutes of the convention of the Congregational Churches of Illinois, 1834, and of the Congregational Association of Illinois, 1835-1840. Chapter VII consists of the autobiography of Flavel Bascom, home missionary, for the years 1833-1840. Bascom was a careful observer, and left an accurate and interesting picture of pioneer Illinois as well as an account of his missionary experience.

Mr. Sweet contributes a concise account of Congregationalism after 1783 by way of introduction, adequate footnotes and a full bibliography.

Of particular interest as far as the history of Illinois is concerned are Volumes VII and VIII of the series entitled *The Territorial Papers of the United States*,[8] in which are printed the principal documents relating to the Territory of Indiana for the sixteen years (1800-1816) of its existence. Since Illinois was an integral part of the Territory of Indiana until 1809, these two volumes are a contribution of fundamental importance to the historiography of Illinois.

Both volumes are made up of official papers from Washington archives. Included are correspondence between federal and territorial officials and between the territorial officers themselves, petitions from the inhabitants to Congress, reports of Congressional committees, proclamations, census reports, letters of applicants for office, and commissions. Out of approximately 1,100 documents in the two volumes, all except a dozen are here printed for the first time.

There are numerous references to Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, Peoria, and the other Illinois settlements; while nearly every individual prominent in Illinois Territory is represented in the collection.

Like their predecessors in this series, Volumes VII and VIII have been compiled and annotated under the capable editorial direction of Dr. Clarence E. Carter.

[8] Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. Volume VII, $2.00; Volume VIII, $1.50.

The "horse and buggy days" in Belvidere was the chief subject discussed at the February meeting of the Boone County Historical Society. The recollections of Elliott Andrews and Thomas Beckington, accompanied by the display of photographs of many old settlers in carriages of various kinds provided an interesting program. In the years gone by many fine carriage teams used in Chicago, Minneapolis and other cities were trained in Boone County.

Plans for the establishment of a historical museum by the Society may be completed in the near future. P. H. O'Donnell, Belvidere attorney, has donated the use of several rooms for the purpose of displaying and storing historical material. Some showcases and filing cabinets are needed, however, before the Society can open such a museum.

A caravan tour for members of the Bureau County Historical Society and friends was sponsored by this group on June 5, 6 and 7. Stops were made at Grand Detour, Dixon, Peoria, Princeton, New Salem State Park, Springfield, La Salle, and Starved Rock.

The Bureau County Historical Society is continually improving and adding to its historical museum, located in the basement of the courthouse at Princeton. Recently a large room was partitioned to form a living room, bedroom, and kitchen. These are now fitted up and furnished as they would have been in a home of a hundred years ago. In other rooms of the museum, showcases have been rearranged and lights installed. T. A. Fenoglio, custodian, has supervised these improvements.

Dr. Benjamin Franklin Shambaugh, member of the Political Science Department of the University of Iowa for forty-four years and head of that department for forty-two years, editor of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* since its beginning in 1903, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa since 1907, died in Iowa City on April 7.

Dr. Shambaugh was a member of the American Historical Association, Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Iowa Political Science Association, and charter member and past president of the American Political Science Association.

Most of his life was spent on the University of Iowa campus. He was graduated from that institution in 1892 and after obtaining his doctor's degree at the University of Pennsylvania and spending some time in study abroad, he began teaching there in 1896.

Benton, Illinois celebrated its centennial on May 30. A Memorial Day pageant depicting the historical highlights of the last hundred years was staged at the city park. Mayor C. Edwin Hair was in charge of the day's program.

The restored county courthouse at Cahokia was dedicated on May 30. The Illinois State Department of Public Works and Buildings, the Cahokia Historical Society and several organizations from East St. Louis collaborated in planning the celebration.

Third in the spring series of lectures which has been presented at the Chicago Historical Society was the Reverend G. J. Garraghan's talk on "Colonial Chicago."

One of the new and timely exhibits at the Chicago Historical Society is a collection of photographs dealing with the problems of subway construction in Chicago. Pictures used in the display were donated by Chicago newspapers.

The Chicago Lawn Historical Society held its spring meeting on Sunday afternoon, May 5, at the Chicago Lawn Library. The Society's historical collection was on display for this occasion.

The Englewood Historical Association held its annual meeting on May 14. Features of the program included: "The History of Englewood and its Schools," by Claude L. Williams; "What Women's Clubs Can Do for Englewood," by Mrs. William F.

Wigger; "A Newcomer Studies Englewood's Problems" by the Reverend Donald Harrington; and a discussion of the 1940 program of the Southtown Planning Association by Harry S. Himmel.

At the business meeting following the program, officers and committee chairmen made their annual reports. The Association is planning to take an active part in the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Englewood's annexation to Chicago this year.

The Maywood Historical Society elected the following officers on January 19: Fred F. Volkman, president; Wilbur Castleman, first vice-president; Vernell C. Dammeier, second vice-president; Marguerite Nichols Edlund, secretary; and William Epcke, treasurer.

Mrs. Fred L. Radcliffe has been appointed membership chairman. Residents interested in the history of Maywood, who are eighteen or more years of age, are eligible for membership in the Society.

Four hundred and fifty neighborhood residents and former residents attended the sixth Annual Community Assembly of the Ravenswood-Lake View Historical Association on April 9 at the Hild Regional Library. The early histories of all neighborhood organizations fifty years old or more were reviewed by representatives from the various groups, and many letters from former residents of the community were read. Songs dating back fifty years or more were sung, and old maps, programs, pictures, etc., from the historical collection of the Association were on display.

The political history of the Woodlawn community was the subject of the February meeting of the Historical Society of Woodlawn. Judge David F. Matchett, Judge William H. Lindsey, Guy Guernsey, and Bernard W. Snow—all of whom have lived in Woodlawn for many years—were the speakers.

New officers elected by the Society include the following: Dr. H. I. VanTuyl, president; Mrs. Paul I. Pierson, vice-president; Mrs. Netta B. Goss, recording secretary; Miss Margaret Huleatte, corre-

sponding secretary; A. C. Bennett, treasurer; Miss Julia Baker, librarian. Besides these, other members on the board include: Frank M. Phillis, John Hayes, Mrs. E. J. Chladek, and Mrs. George W. Payson.

The Edwards County Historical Society concluded its study of George Flower's *History of the English Settlement in Edwards County* at its March meeting in Albion. A number of evenings have been devoted to the discussion of this narrative which describes the founding and early settlement of Albion.

"The Unknown Lincoln" was the subject of the address given by Paul M. Angle, Springfield, at the February meeting of the Evanston Historical Society. Copies of an extra edition of the "Scribe," mimeographed publication issued by high school students for the Evanston Society, were distributed to members at this meeting. At the Society's final meeting of the year on April 23, Dr. William Winston Tucker, city health commissioner, spoke on "The History of Health Control in Evanston." Two former health commissioners, Dr. W. R. Parkes and Dr. S. V. Balderston, who were guests of the Society on this occasion, related some of their most interesting experiences in public health work. Dr. Dwight F. Clark, president of the Society, was in charge of the meeting.

A series of displays tracing the history of American journalism was recently arranged by the Evanston Historical Society in the Evanston Public Library. Each week a new exhibit is selected from the file of rare newspapers owned by the Society.

The one hundred and eighteenth birthday anniversary of General Ulysses S. Grant was celebrated in Galena on April 25. Jay Monaghan, State Historical Library, Springfield, was the chief speaker at the dinner meeting sponsored by the Galena Lions Club and other civic organizations. Mr. Monaghan discussed Grant's life during the Civil War.

A Gallatin County Historical Society was organized at a meeting held in Equality on March 27. E. G. Lentz and John Wright, members of the History Department of the Southern Illinois Normal University, were the guest speakers. Officers elected for the new organization include the following persons: A. N. Trammell, president; J. F. Karber, vice-president; Gertrude Sutton, secretary; and Alton B. Greer, treasurer.

At the April meeting, held in Ridgway, the constitutional committee presented a constitution and by-laws which were adopted by the Society. Moving picture films of the "Ozark Tour," conducted annually by L. O. Trigg of Eldorado, were presented by Dean Hill of Harrisburg. V. H. Crest, archivist of the Society, gave an account of early balloting in the county.

The Committee on Records of the LaGrange Historical Society had a fine response to its request for photographs, programs, etc., and a splendid exhibit was held in May. One section of the display was devoted to people from LaGrange who have done outstanding work in any line. Miss Elizabeth Hoffman was chairman of the exhibit.

Officers of the LaGrange Society include the following: Mrs. A. C. Dallach, president; J. E. Windsor, vice-president; Mrs. W. L. Dunlap, secretary.

The life of Dr. Oliver Everett (1816-1888), physician and scientist of Dixon, was reviewed for members of the Lee County Historical Society at its February meeting. Miss Grace Bryant of Princeton, grandniece of the pioneer doctor, was the speaker. At the meeting on April 15, Ben T. Shaw discussed "The Press of Lee County."

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the death of Abraham Lincoln was commemorated at his Tomb in Springfield on April 15. Miss Eleanor Meyer of Chicago, president of the Daughters of the Union Veterans, and John E. Andrew of Quincy, national commander of the Grand Army of the Republic, participated in the program.

The pioneer life of the village of New Salem was portrayed in New Salem State Park on May 14 for members of the National Park Conference visiting the Park. Members of the Old Salem League from nearby Petersburg, dressed in frontier costumes, occupied the cabins and carried on the spinning, weaving, candle molding, soap making, horse shoeing and other activities of the village of the 1830's.

Members of the National Parks Conference also visited Starved Rock State Park and Springfield before journeying to some of the Indiana state parks for the closing sessions of their conference.

Professor Paul Anderson of Lake Erie College, Painesville, Ohio, was the principal speaker at the dinner meeting of the Morgan County Historical Society on March 29. He discussed the life and philosophy of Dr. Hiram K. Jones, founder of the Plato Club in Jacksonville in 1860 and a nationally known leader in the philosophy of his time. Following his address, H. H. Bancroft, a member of the 1896 class at Illinois College, spoke of his experiences in the lecture course taught by Dr. Jones. Others who spoke at the meeting were Miss Mary Price, Mrs. Carl E. Black, Mrs. A. L. Adams, Dr. R. C. Stoops, Miss Mable Goltra, and Miss Jeanette Powell.

The one hundred and fifteenth birthday of the city of Jacksonville was celebrated by members of the Morgan County group with a dinner meeting on April 26. Dr. Carl E. Black, president, spoke on the founding of the city in 1825. In a sketch of the life and work of Peter Akers, Miss Luella Blackburn presented new material gathered from letters and other documents from the home of her father, where Dr. Akers was a frequent visitor. Dr. C. P. McClelland and and the Reverend C. A. Boyd gave brief talks on certain phases of Dr. Akers' life. The program was concluded with a reel of motion pictures, prepared by the State Department of Public Works and Buildings. Mrs. Arthur Hemminger, Springfield, presented this portion of the program. The committee on arrangements included Miss Fidelia Abbott, Mrs. Henry W. English, and Miss Margaret Moore. Group singing was led by Mrs. George Drennan, with Mrs. Elizabeth Martin at the piano.

The Historical Facts Committee of the Oak Park Historical Society is making plans for acquiring material on the older section of the village. Items previously included in the collection of the Society relate mostly to the southern section of Oak Park.

The Oak Park Historical Society meets on the third Thursdays in February, May and October. Officers are: Klaburn B. Wilson, president; Mrs. George W. White, first vice-president; Milton J. Marland, second vice-president; Adele H. Maze, third vice-president and historian; Katherine S. Clark, recording secretary; Mrs. Thomas Doane, corresponding secretary; J. C. Miller, chairman Historical Facts Committee.

The Peoria Historical Society has had a series of interesting meetings this spring. Dr. M. L. Houser discussed events in the life of Abraham Lincoln during his residence at New Salem at the February meeting. On March 18, Mr. and Mrs. George W. Hunt gave an illustrated lecture on the Potawatomi Indians. On April 15, Jay Monaghan of the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, talked on pre-Civil War fiction.

The annual meeting and banquet of the Society was held on May 20. Professor James G. Randall, professor of history at the University of Illinois, was the guest speaker.

The Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County held its annual meeting on April 16. Officers and committee chairmen gave their annual reports, and a list of members who have died during the past year was read. Reports on the number of visitors at the Historical Building in Quincy show that over sixteen hundred visitors came to the building during the past twelve months. Numerous articles donated to the Society for exhibit purposes were also mentioned.

Officers elected for the year include: Mrs. J. W. Emery, president; William H. Sinnock, first vice-president; Ernest M. Wood, second vice-president; Mrs. Anne J. Wood, recording secretary; Miss Ella Rogers, corresponding secretary; Harvey Sprick, treasurer; Charles F. Eichenauer, historiographer; Julius Kespohl, auditor; Mrs. Ken-

ner Boreman, librarian; L. E. Emmons, Walter D. Franklin, and Oliver Williams, trustees.

John H. Hauberg was re-elected president of the Rock Island County Historical Society at the annual meeting in February. Other officers elected include: Dan H. McNeal, vice-president; William O. Merritt, secretary; Wilbert A. Stephenson, treasurer; Miss Helen Marshall, archivist; John H. Hauberg, curator; Miss Alice Williams, Morris S. Heagy, Eugene Miller and Henry F. Staack, directors.

The Society is assisting in plans for observing Rock Island's one hundredth anniversary. The centennial celebration was officially opened on May 3. A parade with persons dressed in pioneer costumes riding in old-time vehicles was held on this date. Mayor Robert P. Galbraith has proclaimed the official centennial year as May 3, 1940 to May 3, 1941. Oscar E. Aleshire is general chairman of the centennial observance.

The Rock Island County Pioneer and Old Settlers Association is making an effort to compile family histories of Rock Island County pioneers. Lengthy questionnaires have been sent to pioneers and old settlers and their descendants and the answers will be placed in fireproof containers in the Moline Public Library or the Rock Island County Courthouse. Stephen P. Albrecht of Moline is president of this organization which was founded in 1866.

There were eighty-six persons present at the dinner meeting of the Southern Illinois Historical Society held in Anna on March 26. Miss Roy Stallings, a senior at Southern Illinois Normal University, read a paper on the drama in southern Illinois which is published in this number of the *Journal*.[9]

Following the program, Dr. Richard L. Beyer, president of the Society, was in charge of the business meeting at which time the report of the constitution and by-laws committee was adopted.

[9] See *ante*, 190-202.

Paul M. Angle, Springfield, revealed the plans for the annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society which was held in Carbondale and Cairo on May 9-11.

At the annual meeting of the Williamson County Historical Society in Marion on March 6 the officers were re-elected for another year. They include: Fred Harrison, president; Mrs. Estelle Colp, vice-president; L. A. Sanders, secretary; E. M. Stotlar, treasurer; Mrs. R. A. Parks, archivist. In addition to these officers, Mrs. Carl Bruce, Mrs. Jennie H. Hentz, Mrs. L. O. Caplinger, Harris Jones, and J. Milton Norman make up the board of directors.

Before the razing of the Horace Mann School in Winnetka was begun—to make way for the new post office—the Winnetka Historical Society held a meeting at the school. A group of children from Skokie School held a panel discussion, noting historical events within the forty-one years of the school's service. Those who participated in this program were later presented with certificates as charter members of a junior auxiliary of the Winnetka Historical Society.

Many former members of the board of education were present as special guests. An old-fashioned spelling bee lined up the women against the men and the program was closed with the singing of "School Days."

In the March, 1940, *Journal* a list of persons who have recently donated family histories to the Illinois State Historical Library was printed. Others to whom the Library is indebted for such gifts are:

C. H. Cory, Jr., St. Petersburg, Florida, for *Ancestors of Captain James Cory* and *Ancestors of Rufus Rennington Young and Jane Vosburgh and Descendants;* Mrs. John McDonald, Eagle Grove, Iowa, for McDonald, "Descendants of Henry Livergood and Salome Ruby-Livergood" (mimeographed); J. A. Marsteller, Troutville, Virginia, for Marsteller, *Seven Marstellers and Their Descendants;* Anna Mary

Moon, Chattanooga, Tennessee, for Moon, *Sketches of the Moon and Barclay Families;* Ralph E. Pearson, Middletown, Ohio, for Pearson, *The Scarritt Clan in America;* Mrs. Sherman Ira Pool, Waverly, Iowa, for Pool, "Martin Lyman Stebbins" (typed MS); W. A. Porter, Minneapolis, Minnesota, for Porter, *Descendants of Peter Porter;* Albert Rathbone, New York City, for Rathbone, *Archibald McClure and Elizabeth Craigmiles, Colonel William Rice and Wealthy Cottrell, General George Talcott and Angelica Bogart, Josiah Olcott and Deborah Worth,* and *Samuel Rathbone and Lydia Sparhawk;* Thomas L. Rhoads, Boyertown, Pennsylvania, for Rhoads, *My Ancestry;* Mrs. J. M. Richer, South Whitley, Indiana, for Richer, *Nafzger Family in America;* E. Horsnell, Washington, D. C., for Jean Riddell, *Ancestors and Descendants of James Montgomery;* S. C. Rice, for Elsie Smith, *Edmund Rice and his Family;* L. O. Stiles, Irvington, Kentucky, for Stiles, *Family of David Stiles;* W. C. Stillson, Cleveland, Ohio, for Stillson, *Genealogy of the Stilson Family;* Agnes W. Storer, New Brunswick, New Jersey, for Storer, *Elenore C. Custer;* Mrs. R. C. Tuttle, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, for Sarah Stuart, *William Usilton of Kent County, Maryland;* Alan McLean Taylor, Adrian, Michigan, for Taylor, *William Harrison Taylor and the Taylor Family;* Laura Kendall Thomas, Elmhurst, Illinois, for "Huddleston Family" (typed MS), and "Kendall Family" (typed MS); Hugh J. Chisholm, Portland, Maine, for Harriette Thrasher, *Clan Chisholm and Allied Clans;* Oswell G. Treadway, Chicago, Illinois, for Treadway, *Edward Treadway and Descendants;* William I. Utterback, Marshall College, West Virginia, for Utterback, *Utterback Family in America;* Harry E. Pratt, Springfield,Illinois, for Lemuel Welles, *Ancestry of Gov. Thomas Welles of Connecticut;* A. D. White, Hickory, Pennsylvania, for White, *The Lyles of Washington County, Pennsylvania;* Mrs. Ernestine Dew White, Greenville, South Carolina, for White, *Descendants of Thomas Dew;* Kathryn de Monbreun Whitefort, St. Elmo, Illinois, for Whitefort, *Jacques Timothe Boucher, Sieur de Monbreun, his Ancestors and Descendants;* C. L. Whitman, Zion, Illinois, for Whitman, *George Wightman and Descendants;* Harry Wilkey, Camp Point, Illinois, for Wilkey, "Louis Wilkey and Elizabeth (Glaeser) Wilkey and their Descendants" (mimeographed); J. Oliver Williams, Brookline, Massachusetts, for Williams, *Genealogy of Williams Families;* J. V. Williams, Chattanooga, Tennessee, for

Williams, *James Tate Williams, his Family and Recollections;* Mrs. Grace H. Wingert, Springfield, Ohio, for Wingert, *Ancestry and Descendants of Griffith Thomas;* and Mrs. Anna Allen Wright, Ithaca, New York, for Wright, "Allen Family."

## CONTRIBUTORS

Kenneth F. Broomell is in the real estate and insurance business in Chicago. . . . Harlow M. Church, co-author of the article on "Cap" Streeter, is a staff photographer for Acme Newspapers, Inc. He is located in the Chicago office of that organization. . . . George V. Bohman is Assistant Professor of Public Speaking at Dartmouth College. He is a native of Princeton, Illinois. . . . Miss Roy Stallings is a senior at Southern Illinois Normal University. Her paper on the drama in southern Illinois was read at the meeting of the Southern Illinois Historical Society at Anna on March 26, 1940. . . . C. C. Tisler is a member of the staff of *The Daily Republican Times*, Ottawa, Illinois. . . . Lester L. Swift, who lives in Cleveland Heights, Ohio, is the plant metallurgist in a factory engaged in making automotive parts. His hobby is the study of Civil War source material. . . . Paul M. Angle is the Editor of this *Journal* and the Librarian of the Illinois State Historical Library.

# THE NAVY AND THE BOOTH CONSPIRATORS

BY CHARLES O. PAULLIN

THE work of the United States Navy in apprehending and guarding the accomplices in the conspiracy to murder President Lincoln and other officials of the federal government has never been described. While there is now considerable literature about Booth and his criminal companions, none of the writers has exhausted the sources of information, or has used the logbooks of the *Saugus* and *Montauk* and other official documents found in the Navy Department, upon which sources the present article is largely based.

It is still questioned whether all the conspirators were found guilty, whether all those found guilty were conspirators, and whether the body identified as that of Booth was really his body. In a recent book, *This One Mad Act* (1937), Izola Forrester, a granddaughter of Booth, expresses the belief that her grandfather was in exile until 1879 and attempts to throw doubt upon many of the conclusions of earlier writers. Upon some of the controverted matters the present article casts new light.

In 1864 John Wilkes Booth, an actor, twenty-six years old, formed a plan to abduct President Lincoln and take him to Richmond, and two former schoolmates, Michael O'Laughlin and Samuel B. Arnold, like

Booth, Marylanders, joined the conspiracy. In January, 1865, two new recruits were added, David E. Herold, a youth of about twenty years and a clerk in a Washington drugstore, and George A. Atzerodt, about thirty-three years old, a coachmaker of German descent, engaged in secretly ferrying southern sympathizers across the Potomac River below Washington, at Port Tobacco, Maryland. In March, Lewis Payne joined the plotters. He was the destitute son of a Baptist preacher in Florida, an ex-Confederate soldier, twenty years old, physically a gladiator, whose sufferings made him a ready victim of Booth's blandishments. To these should be added Edward Spangler, a scene shifter at Ford Theatre in Washington. One is impressed by the youth and amateurism of the conspirators and the ascendancy of the arch-plotter Booth. With Dr. Samuel A. Mudd and the Surratts this article is not concerned, for they were not guarded by the Navy.

Not until after the surrender of Lee at Appomattox Courthouse on April 9, 1865, did the conspirators decide on assassination and include other officials in addition to Lincoln. Booth reserved for himself the most spectacular murder, that of the President. Atzerodt was to kill Vice-President Johnson; and Payne, Secretary of State Seward. Herold, after guiding Payne to Seward's house on Lafayette Square, was to aid Atzerodt. On Friday evening, April 14, Booth carried out his part of the plan, and Payne ferociously assaulted Seward and several members of his household. Atzerodt and Herold, losing courage, made no attempt on the life of Johnson. About 11:00 P. M. Booth crossed the Navy Yard bridge in southeast Washington and was soon followed by Herold, who joined him. Early Saturday morning a

*Courtesy Office of Navy Records*

U. S. S. SAUGUS

brigade of infantry, a thousand cavalry, and more than two hundred detectives poured into Maryland in pursuit.

On Monday, April 17, O'Laughlin was apprehended in Baltimore and Arnold at Old Point Comfort. On Monday night Payne was taken at Mrs. Surratt's boarding house in Washington. On Thursday, April 20, Atzerodt was arrested at the house of his cousin, Hartman Richter, in Montgomery County, Maryland. Three days later Spangler was found at his Washington boarding house. In these arrests the Navy played no part. It, however, had not been idle.

The Commandant of the Washington Navy Yard in April, 1865, was Commodore John B. Montgomery, a veteran officer who had served on the *Niagara* during the Battle of Lake Erie and had had a conspicuous part in the conquest of California. On April 15 he received the following telegram from Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles:

> If the military authorities arrest the murderer of the President and take him to the yard, put him on a monitor and anchor her in the stream, with strong guard on vessel, wharf, and in yard. Call upon commandant Marine Corps for guard. Have vessel immediately prepared ready to receive him in any hour, day or night, with necessary instructions. He will be heavily ironed and so guarded as to prevent escape or injury to himself.

In response to this telegram Montgomery made preparations for the reception of not only Booth, but of any other conspirator that might be sent to the Navy Yard. The ironclads *Montauk* and *Saugus* were moored to the wharf, head and stern. A strong detachment of marines under the command of Captain Frank Munroe, of the Marine Corps, was stationed at the wharf, the guard at the Navy Yard gate was strengthened, and the sentinels were doubled. The logs of the ironclads contain some

interesting information about the arrival and confinement of the prisoners. The following extracts are from the log of the *Saugus*, Lieutenant B. F. Day:[1]

April 17. At 9:00 P. M. a marine guard with one state prisoner [Michael O'Laughlin] came on board, when we hauled out into the stream and moored ship. . . .

April 18. At 5:00 P. M. a marine guard brought on board a prisoner named Lewis Payne. . . .

April 19. Samuel Arnold (state prisoner) was brought on board at 2:00 A. M. and confined in double irons. . . .

April 20. At 11:30 P. M. received on board, confined in double irons, John Richter and John Atzerodt, prisoners, and left in charge of marine guard on board. . . .

April 23. Transferred prisoner John Atzerodt to monitor *Montauk*. . . . At 11:00 P. M. Spangler (a prisoner) was brought on board. . . .

April 25. John Celestina (state prisoner) was brought on board in irons and transferred to the *Montauk*.

The following extracts are from the log of the *Montauk*, E. E. Stone, lieutenant commander:

April 15. Received orders from the Executive of the Navy Yard to be in readiness to haul ship into the stream. . . .

April 17. At 10:00 P. M. ironclad *Saugus* hauled into the stream. . . .

April 23. At 3:00 P. M. received orders from the Commandant to haul the ship into the stream, which was obeyed. Received from the U. S. S. *Saugus*, Atzerodt, a political prisoner in irons, and confined him in the windlass room. A guard of marines came on board and took charge of the prisoner. At 11:30 P. M. received on board another prisoner by the name of Spangler—placed him in the sail room. . . .

April 25. At 9:30 P. M. received a prisoner by the name of John Celestina, who was confined in the log room.

Richter, of German descent, and Celestina, a Portuguese, were suspects. The removal of Atzerodt from the *Saugus* to the *Montauk* was made at the request of Sec-

[1] In the extracts, the correct spelling of proper names is used and references to the time of day are made uniform.

retary of War Edwin M. Stanton, who wished him to be separated from his relative. Stanton also asked that a ball and chain be put on each ankle of Payne, who had attempted suicide by beating his head against the walls of his room. The Secretary of War was nervous and excited and feared that the prisoners might escape or be rescued. He was responsible for the following order of Assistant Secretary Gustavus V. Fox to Montgomery, dated April 24:

> The Secretary of War requests that the prisoners on board the ironclads belonging to his Department, for better security against conversation, shall have a canvas bag put over the head of each and tied around the neck, with a hole for proper breathing and eating, but not seeing; and that Payne be secured to prevent self-destruction.

On the following day Montgomery reported to Fox:

> The moment the hoods could be made they were applied as directed. The prisoners were all hooded yesterday. They are in all respects entirely secured.

For more than a week after the assassination, Booth and Herold, fleeing southward, made little progress, owing largely to the activity of the Navy. On April 17, acting under orders of the Secretary of the Navy and a request of the Secretary of War, Commodore Foxhall A. Parker, commander of the Potomac Flotilla, disposed his fleet so as to guard the Potomac River, Chesapeake Bay, and adjacent waters. Ten vessels patrolled the Potomac; one was stationed at Point Lookout at the mouth of the Potomac; two cruised between Point Lookout and the eastern shore; seven guarded the waters between Point Lookout and Havre de Grace, Maryland; seven, the coast of Virginia southward to York River; two, York River; and three, the eastern shore of Vir-

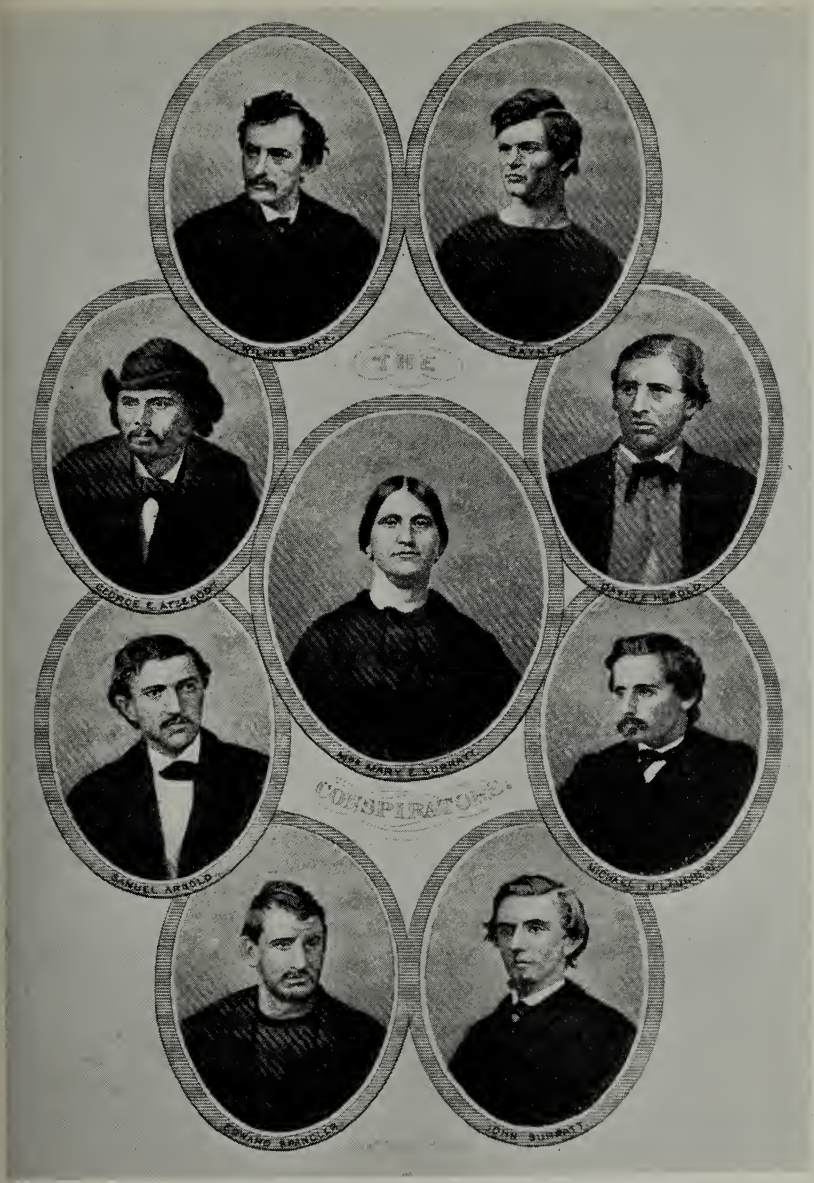
ginia. The vessels of the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron, Rear Admiral David D. Porter, with headquarters at Hampton Roads, kept watch over the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, and orders were issued to send vessels up the Atlantic coast as far as Delaware Bay. On April 23 Welles sent the following telegram to Porter:

> Continue to exercise the utmost vigilance over all vessels departing from the limits of your command. Booth is endeavoring to escape by water. Send a gunboat or some tugs to examine the shores and islands of the Eastern Shore of Virginia and all vessels in that direction, and arrest and seize all suspicious parties. If you have any tugs to spare, send them into the Potomac.

For six days and five nights Booth and Herold were concealed in a dense thicket of short pines near Swan Point on the Maryland shore of the Potomac, waiting for a propitious moment to cross. That their movements were impeded by Parker's vessels, we have the evidence of Booth's diary, penned at his hiding place. From this the following extract is taken:

> Friday 21. After being hunted like a dog through swamps, woods, and last night chased by gunboats till I was forced to return, wet, cold, and starving, with every man's hand against me, I am here in despair. And why? For doing what Brutus was honored for—what made Tell a hero. . . . Tonight I will once more try the river with intent to cross.

Commodore Parker said that twice as many vessels as he had in his flotilla could not prevent the conspirators from crossing in the night time; and so it proved, for on the night of April 22-23 they crossed to the Virginia shore, after an unsuccessful trial on the previous night. With the capture of Herold and the death of Booth, probably by his own hand, three days later at Garrett's Farm, Virginia, we are not here concerned. The body and the captive were conveyed to Washington




Conspirators in the Assassination of Lincoln

on board the steamer *John S. Ide* (sometimes called *Ide*). The arrival of the vessel at the Navy Yard, April 27, and the subsequent events of that day are noted in the log of the *Montauk*.

> At 1:45 A. M. the steamer *Ide* came alongside bringing the dead body of J. W. Booth and prisoner D. C. Herold, which were received on board, and the prisoner was confined in the ward room store room in charge of a marine guard. At 11:00 A. M. a number of Government officials came on board and took charge of the body of Booth. Surgeon General Barnes and assistants examined the body and performed an autopsy on it. Judge Holt took the depositions of a number of persons, who identified the body. At 2:30 P. M. sent the body away in charge of Conl. Baker to the Arsenal. . . . Received orders from the Commandant to allow no one on board unless having a passport from the War Department.

The party referred to in the log, in addition to Dr. J. K. Barnes, surgeon general of the army, Joseph Holt, judge advocate general, and Colonel L. C. Baker, chief of the national detective police, included nine others—officers and civilians. Among the last-named were a photographer and assistant, who photographed the body. A pass signed by Welles and Stanton ordered Montgomery to permit the party to go on board the *Montauk*. He was further ordered as follows:

> Immediately after the Surgeon-General has made his autopsy you will have the body placed in a strong box, and deliver it to the charge of Col. Baker, the box being carefully sealed.

There were at least two other persons who joined the party on board the *Montauk*, Dr. John Frederick May, an eminent surgeon, who had operated on Booth for a carbuncle, and his son, William May. Dr. May's account of his identification is found in his article, "The Mark on the Scalpel," in the *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, Vol. 13 (1910), 51-68. For the statement of the

son that the body was "positively identified and any doubts upon the subject should be put at rest forever," see his letter of May 18, 1925, to Captain Dudley W. Knox, U. S. N. (retired), in the files of the office of Naval War Records and Library.

When the body, protected by wrappings, was delivered to the *Montauk*, it was laid upon the deck where it remained until operated upon. Decomposition had set in. Early on April 27, Montgomery reported that the body of Booth was "changing rapidly." On the same day Stanton asserted the control of the army over the prisoners by ordering General C. C. Augur to station a guard on shore near the ironclads, night and day. It seems that he also was responsible for Welles' prodding of Montgomery, who was directed to "report the names of all visitors, male and female, to see the body of the assassin Booth; whether his hair was touched, and what authority parties had for doing these things."

The commander of the *Montauk* when asked for a statement said that the order to allow no one on board unless bearing a pass was promptly obeyed. Previously, persons known to the officers of the Army and Navy had been permitted on board. Hair, he said, was cut from the head of the corpse by one of the assistants who accompanied Surgeon General Barnes, and he was led to believe that it was a portion of that hair which some naval officer very foolishly boasted of possessing. The body was so suddenly and unexpectedly removed from the vessel that no opportunity was afforded the Commandant to enclose it in the box, which he had prepared in accordance with his orders.

On the evening of the 29th Montgomery was relieved

of his troublesome charges. The entry in the log of the *Montauk* for that day is as follows: "At 10 P. M. steamer *Keyport* came alongside and received all the prisoners we had, and left down the river." There is a similar entry in the log of the *Saugus*. The *Keyport* conveyed the eight prisoners—Payne, Atzerodt, Herold, Arnold, O'Laughlin, Spangler, Richter, and Celestina—to the Arsenal grounds where they were confined in the penitentiary. A few days later the Navy was freed of all further responsibility for its unusual duties when John and William Garrett of Garrett's Farm, Virginia, left the Navy Yard. Detained as witnesses, they had been confined in the guard room.

# DOMESTIC ARTS AND CRAFTS IN ILLINOIS (1800-1860)

BY MARJORIE CAROLINE TAYLOR

NOT all of the history of a people is written in the accounts of their military achievements, political changes, and economic development. An important expression of human experience is found in a nation's arts and crafts. The daily life of a people is an expression of its inheritance and the application of its traditions to current situations and problems. Architecture, furniture, and articles of everyday use follow the general trend of social history, and their designs are influenced by the social, political, economic, and religious life of a people. Homes usually indicate the tastes of their owners and are, indeed, mirrors of the period in which they were built. The development of arts and crafts in Illinois between 1800 and 1860 is particularly interesting because this half century marked the transition of the region from a sparsely inhabited wilderness to a state of growing cities and well-improved farms. This great achievement was made possible by a stupendous increase in population as the discontented elements in the older states, as well as newly arrived immigrants from the Old World, gathered up some of their most essential and prized possessions and joined the procession westward.

There were many real dangers as well as serious

problems which faced these home builders in the new country. During the War of 1812 it was feared that the Indians, aroused by the British, would prove a grave menace. Blockhouses were built in the settlements and provided a place of refuge for the neighboring families and their livestock. These people, while defending their homes, carried on their regular activities as much as possible, including the regular Sunday religious services which were held in the fort. However, despite efforts to protect themselves and their homes, it has been estimated that over fifty noncombatants lost their lives in Illinois during this war in addition to those men actually engaged in the struggle to retain American supremacy in the Mississippi Valley.

Then, too, there was always a grave danger of running short of provisions before the crop could be harvested. The amount of food which could be brought a long distance was of necessity quite limited and would be carefully portioned out that it might last as long as possible. Corn planting was begun about the middle of March—almost two months earlier than most farmers think best now—and could be cut for fodder by July, if necessary, and fed to the stock. When the flour barrel became empty it was replenished at the nearest store at a very high price, to be paid when the wheat was gathered later in the summer.

Medical aid was seldom readily available to the pioneers, so they doctored themselves with home remedies such as goose grease, herbs, and the ever necessary quinine. Malaria and the itch were quite common and were a source of much discomfort and inconvenience while the "mosquite" problem was serious. One solution to the latter difficulty was the stringing together of

laths close enough to prevent the passage of the pests and then using this arrangement for bed hangings. Despite these objectionable features, thousands of families continued to move westward. Probably they were developing a certain fatalistic attitude regarding life in general and had temporarily reduced their demands to the primary needs of food, clothing, and shelter, for the sake of greater gains to come—a cleared eighty and a house with a parlor.

Each period of financial chaos, either in Europe or America, time and again was marked by a great movement toward the frontier. By 1800 productivity of much of the soil in the eastern states was notoriously decreasing. If, in addition, due to a general depression, the scanty crops brought a poor price, the economic situation of the farmers would become acute. During the slump in the 1820's, wheat went as low as twenty-five cents a bushel and flour sold for over two dollars a barrel. It is easy to see why people in such circumstances would be willing to leave their old established homes to begin again in the West, attracted by stories of rich lands, as yet unplowed. Then, too, the government's practice of giving bounty lands to soldiers was an inducement to many to go west, when "hard times" became serious. The development of rivers and canals made moving easier and no doubt was a considerable factor with many in making a decision to go west. Water transportation was utilized not only to transport goods to the newly settled regions, but also to carry the settler's pork and wheat to market, usually at New Orleans. In 1812, the first steamboat went up the Mississippi from New Orleans. It was also possible to float a raft from Pittsburgh down the Ohio to the Mississippi

at no expense except the actual cost of construction of the raft. A description of such a "moving" was included in a diary of 1817:

> I had some conversation with a gentleman on this raft; said he had come with his family from New York, three hundred miles, and was going down the river to settle. They have all their furniture spread about, and have as much room as in a house, having a roof over a portion of it, and a collection of earth on which they cook, in the place of a fire place.[1]

Between 1827 and 1850 the Cumberland or National Road was the principal route overland between the East and the West. Many settlers moving to Illinois from the East used the Ohio River route, coming up the Mississippi to the Illinois and up that stream until a suitable place for a homesite was found. Europeans often sailed straight to New Orleans where they purchased their equipment in preparation for their journey up the Mississippi and Illinois rivers. This was the route used by some early Pike County residents who disembarked at Phillips Landing. Other families from the East used the Great Lakes in their journey westward, setting out overland after they reached Chicago. People from the South came with their covered wagons and Negroes, sometimes directly from the Old South, or from Kentucky and Tennessee. The foreign element was steadily increasing, particularly the English and the German. These differences in sectional loyalties were most noticeable during the Civil War when many communities became divided according to their views on the slavery question. However, they had all come to Illinois with hopes of bettering their condition. Even so small a geographical area as Cass County offers an excellent example of the di-

[1] "A Journey to the West in 1817," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, VIII (1866), 233.

versified origin of its early citizens. Chandlerville bears the name of a New Englander, and Arenzville was named for Francis Arenz, a native of Prussia. The present county seat was called Virginia in tribute to the native state of Mrs. Anna Pitt Beard Hall, wife of Dr. Henry Hall, the founder of the small village, who had been born and reared in Ireland. In addition to these elements there were settlements of Scotch and English people who had come direct from their native lands.

In many cases, little property was taken to the new home that could not be carried on the backs of horses. This would include some implements for farming and those cooking utensils which were indispensable. Certain articles of luxury were moved occasionally and many present-day homes retain the silver tea service which a great-great-grandmother carried from Virginia and the maple four-poster bed and cherry chest that were brought from Pennsylvania.

The axe and the auger were often all the tools available for use in building the rude cabin and the greater portion of its furniture.

> Once over the mountains, the pioneer found himself in a world as unlike the East as it was remote from it. There were no Georgian houses or new classical mansions . . . . The settler was considered well-housed when he was able to replace a rough open lean-to with a log-cabin raised in a few days with the help of neighbors.[2]

Judge Hall, who toured the West in 1828, described the conditions he found:

> The pioneers . . . brought little else with them than their weapons, and their ammunition; those who followed in their footsteps brought cattle, and hogs, and a few articles of immediate necessity, laden upon pack-horses. With no tools but an axe and an augur, the settler built his cabin; with a chimney built of sticks,

[2] James T. Adams, *The March of Democracy* (New York, 1932), I: 209.

and a door hung upon wooden hinges, and confined with a wooden latch. Chairs, tables, and bedsteads, were fabricated with the same unwieldy tools. These primitive dwellings are by no means so wretched as their name and their rude workmanship seem to imply. They still constitute the usual residence of the farmers in new settlements, and I have found them roomy, tight, and comfortable. If one cabin is not sufficient, another, and another is added, until the whole family is accommodated; and thus the homestead of a substantial farmer often resembles a little village.[3]

There seems to have been a tendency in many cases to neglect decent standards of living. A traveler in 1827 advised the inhabitants "to put panes of glass in their windows, instead of old newspapers." He said:

Patches of corn planted with tobacco and sweet potatoes are the sole ornaments of these back woods mansions.[4]

The *Prairie Farmer* for March, 1845, featured an editorial, "The Flower Garden," which emphasized the view that "Home should have flowers about it."

Harriet Martineau, fascinating English writer, included in her travels in America a tour of the West. She wrote about the homes:

The log-houses,—always comfortable when well made, being easily kept clean, cool in summer, and warm in winter,—have here an air of beauty about them. The hue always harmonizes well with the soil and vegetation.[5]

J. M. Peck published a guidebook in 1836, when great numbers of people were moving towards the frontier, in which he gave detailed instructions for building a log house:

"Cabin" is the name for a plain, rough log-house, throughout the west. The spot being selected, usually in the timbered land, and near some spring, the first operation of the newly arrived

[3] James Hall, *Letters from the West* (London, 1828), 289.
[4] Karl Postl, *The Americans as They Are* (London, 1828), 59.
[5] Harriet Martineau, *Society in America* (London, 1837), I: 319.

emigrant is to cut about 40 logs of the proper size and length for a single cabin. . . . A large oak or other suitable timber, of straight grain, and free from limbs, is selected for clapboards for the roof. These are four feet in length, split with a froe six or eight inches wide, and half an inch thick. *Puncheons* are used for the floor. These are made by splitting trees about eighteen inches in diameter into slabs, two or three inches in thickness, and hewn on the upper surface. The door way is made by cutting out the logs after raising, of a suitable width, and putting upright pieces of timber at the sides. The shutter is made of clapboards, pinned on cross pieces, hung by wooden hinges, and fastened by a wooden latch. A similar aperture, but wider is made at one end for the chimney. The men of the settlement, when notified, collect and raise the building. Four stout men with axes are placed on the corners to notch the logs together, while the rest of the company lift them up. After the roof is on the body of the building, it is slightly hewed down both out and inside. The roof is formed by shortening each end log in succession till one log forms the comb of the roof. The clapboards are put on so as to cover all cracks. . . . The chimney is built of sticks of wood. . . . A *log house* . . . differs from a cabin . . . in having a framed and shingled roof, a brick or stone chimney, windows, tight floors, and . . . frequently clapboarded on the outside and plastered within.[6]

The log cabin was a symbol of the frontier and had appeared at each succeeding outpost of civilization in the expansion westward. In Illinois in the 1830's and 1840's could be found the same type of home that had been built in some of the older states, over one hundred years earlier.

Peck's *Guide for Emigrants* also offered directions for fashioning tables and bedsteads which any frontiersman could follow. The design was not a matter of concern to him, but the functional and utilitarian features were most important. The pioneer was handicapped, of course, by the lack of materials available. Peck's directions for the construction of a table were as follows:

[6] J. M. Peck, *A New Guide for Emigrants to the West* (Boston, 1836), 117-18.

A table is made of a split slab and supported by four round legs. Clapboards supported by pins stuck in the logs answer for shelves for table furniture. The bedstead is often made in the corner of the room by sticks placed in the logs, supported at the outward corner by a post, on which clapboards are laid, the ends of which enter the wall between the logs, and which support the bedding.[7]

The table and kitchen equipment suggested in this guide could not be constructed at home and so must be brought from the older sections of the country. It is interesting to note that the majority of these items were unbreakable. He wrote:

The necessary table and kitchen furniture are a few pewter dishes and spoons, knives and forks . . . tin cups . . . a water pail and a small gourd or calabash for water, with a pot and iron Dutch oven. . . . a coffee pot and set of cups and saucers, a set of common plates, and the cabin is furnished.[8]

Mrs. Rebecca Burlend who settled several miles from the present site of Valley City, Pike County, Illinois, has left us a very fine description of an early home in that vicinity:

There were two rooms, both on the ground floor, separated from each other with boards so badly joined, that crevices were in many places observable. The rooms were nearly square, and might contain thirty to forty square yards each; beneath one of the rooms was a cellar, the floor and sides of which were mud and clay, as left when just dug out; the walls of the house consisted of layers of strong blocks of timber, roughly squared and notched into each other at the corners, the joints filled up with clay. The house had two doors, one of which is always closed in winter, and open in summer to cause a draught. The fire was on the floor at the end of the building, where a very grotesque chimney had been constructed of stones gathered out of the land, and walled together with clay and mud instead of cement. It was necessarily a great width, to prevent the fire from communicating with the building. The house was covered with oak shingles; that is to say, thin riven boards nailed upon each other, so as just to over-reach.

[7] Peck, *Guide for Emigrants*, 119.
[8] *Ibid.*, 120.

The floors of the house were covered with the same material, except a large piece near the fire, which was paved with small stones.[9]

Christiana Holmes Tillson, who came to Illinois in 1822 from New England, was often rather critical of her neighbors but in mentioning one home in which she had stopped she described the one room of the cabin as "unusually clean for an establishment of that kind. There were two beds nicely made, with clean pillows and handsome bed-quilts, the floor clean, and the coarse chairs looking as if they had just been scrubbed."[10] All travelers did not receive such favorable impressions since they might encounter such scenes as Morris Birkbeck did in 1817: "Two bedsteads of unhewn logs, and cleft boards laid across;—two chairs, one of them without a bottom, and a low stool, were all the furniture."[11]

However crude their furniture might be, careful housekeepers attempted to create comfortable and cheerful surroundings. Mrs. Tillson, who came to Illinois as a bride, brought along a box of things which would be needed in her log cabin. Of its contents she wrote:

> There were three bed ticks with bolster and pillow ticks to match, ready to be filled, the feathers sent in a bale by themselves. I had also bedding, a roll of common carpeting, table and bed linen sufficient for a beginning, a set of waiters, knives and forks, and our housekeeping conveniences.[12]

These feathers probably represented many hours of patient toil and care. In addition to the annual picking of the geese, rural families always saved the down from

[9] Rebecca Burlend, *A True Picture of Emigration* (London, 1848), edited by Milo Milton Quaife (Chicago, 1936), 47-48.

[10] Christiana Holmes Tillson, *A Woman's Story of Pioneer Illinois*, edited by Milo Milton Quaife (Chicago, 1919), 57.

[11] T. C. Pease and A. S. Roberts, *Selected Readings in American History*, quoting Morris Birkbeck's *Notes on a Journey in America* (New York, 1928), 276.

[12] Tillson, *A Woman's Story of Pioneer Illinois*, 98.

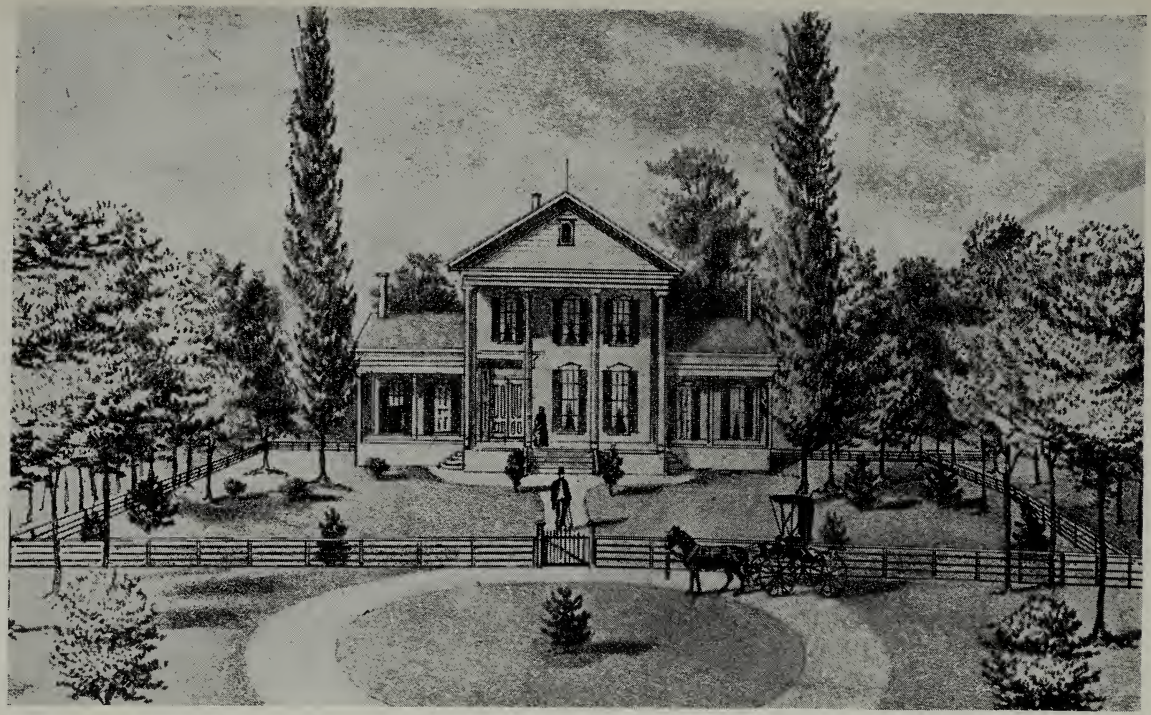
the breasts of wild ducks and other fowl. The feathers were carefully washed and dried in small bags in the sun. Then when the need arose for a new feather bed or bolster, the fresh, clean feathers were emptied into a strong linen tick. The planning and hoarding which was necessary for one feather pillow probably shows as clearly as anything else the self-sufficiency of the average household on the frontier.

"The housekeeping conveniences" included skillets, kettles, and a Dutch oven of iron. The latter article, a shallow flat-bottomed iron pan with a lid—sometimes called a skillet in Illinois—was the only kind of oven available in most homes. Its use required considerable skill for successful operation. The whole thing was immersed in the glowing embers until it was heated, then the dough was placed inside and it was again covered with embers and ashes. Probably an expert would serve her family as delicious corn bread as can be made with our modern conveniences, but the amount of energy consumed in using such a method was enormous. Cooking was really a serious business, for it was all done on the hearth, usually directly over the coals, making it necessary for the cook to stoop down over the hot fire as she watched the hominy or mush or salt pork, which were the chief articles of diet. Dried fruit, fastened on strings, sage, bunches of peppers, stuffed sausages, and chunks of dried beef were hung from the ceilings[13] for safekeeping and lent a certain decorative element to the interior. Small red peppers would be especially cheery hanging from a dark smoke-stained rafter. The decorations of these cabins were often most ingenious and demonstrated the ability of the people to use whatever was

[13] Charles B. Johnson, *Illinois in the Fifties* (Champaign, Ill., 1918), 15-16.

available. Unclaimed newspapers, sent to the post-office by enterprising publishers, were sometimes used for wallpaper. It must have been aggravating never to know the outcome of the exciting and sentimental story (in which newspaper editors delighted at that time) because the other side was pasted to the wall.

There were homes of taste and beauty in the West at an early date but they were the exception of course. There are stories of families building the new home in exact duplication of the one they had left. Tradition says such was the case with the Dr. Charles Chandler home at Chandlerville, Illinois, which has now disappeared. The doctor's wife was quite reluctant to leave her beautiful and well-appointed home in the East and so the doctor, suffering from a severe case of the "Illinois fever," promised she should have a new home in the wilderness exactly like the one they were to leave. The handrail of the long stairs of this new home was one piece of walnut and is an example of the type of materials used in building at this time. Shingles and weatherboarding, too, were frequently of walnut. Flooring was of wide oak boards and some of these floors have been known to be in use for seventy-five to eighty years. Lumber was plentiful and cheap so the best was used quite freely. The timber had to be cut or killed by burning before the crop could be made. Doubtless many crude cabins were made of valuable oak, maple, and walnut logs. Such a house as the Chandler home was striking, of course, in comparison to the cabins which were usually built in the region at the time. The moving from the log house to a frame one was a mark of prosperity and an event looked back upon with much pride. The magazines sometimes offered suggestions for build-



A Residence in the Greek Revival Style

ing houses. The following is from the *Prairie Farmer*:

> We will suppose the farmer has not more than two or three hundred dollars to expend in the first building he erects which is to be his dwelling. He can build with this sum a house perhaps 16 by 26 feet, with posts 14 feet, and finish it in a neat and substantial manner. This is about the style of house of which hundreds will now be scattered all over the West, when the settler has just emerged from his log cabin; or where his notions of living will not permit him to build one in the first place. This is, in fact, the second grade upward in house building—the log cabin being the first step.[14]

The architecture of these western homes followed the style which had been prevalent in the East at an earlier date. For example, the architecture in Illinois in the 1850's was very similar to that common in New England in the 1820's. The Greek Revival style had had its beginnings in the early nineteenth century in the eastern part of the country, and many Illinois farm homes built in the fifties and sixties, still in use at the present time, bear a decided resemblance to the ancient temples of the Acropolis. It is interesting to note in this connection that while the *Prairie Farmer*, a Chicago publication, usually suggested house plans with exteriors of Greek Revival inspiration, *Godey's* of Philadelphia (November, 1846) published the details for a "Cottage Dwelling, in the German Swiss style, for a man and his family, with accommodation for two horses and cow."

For many years it was possible to find a variety of types of homes in the West. A picturesque log cabin was sometimes seen just across the road from a Greek Revival house with its stately columns or other characteristic features such as pilasters on the corners. However, as a region became more prosperous it assumed more of

[14] *Prairie Farmer*, VI (Jan., 1846), 28.

the appearance of the towns and villages in the East. The Greek ideal of democracy appealed in the West as it had in the earlier established settlements, and so the Greek temple style of house, reminiscent of that mountainous country of the Old World, was built on many flat prairies. This might be considered quite fitting since frontier life practically wiped out social distinctions and men prided themselves on their democratic customs.

When the settlers established their homes there was usually a movement to organize and erect a church of some kind. Sometimes they directed their own prayer services, or class meetings—the term used by the Methodists. Illinois was especially fortunate in the abilities and accomplishments of many of her early clergymen. Peter Cartwright, a native of the State of Virginia, was most active and influential in the organization of many Methodist churches. That famous group of missionary preachers and teachers, the "Yale Band," who came west, also did much to instill ideals of education and religious living in the pioneers. At first the services were usually held in private homes at whatever time was convenient, one favored hour being "at early candlelight." Camp meetings were quite popular and were both a means of spreading religion and a social diversion, but as soon as possible church buildings were erected and furnished. Intense religious zeal was a source of inspiration and doubtless an important factor in the building of churches. The members usually did the work themselves, occasionally pledging both money and labor on the subscription sheet. Pews hewed from walnut are still in use in some of these old buildings. These structures usually had simple exteriors, but

were solid and substantial like the lives of the pioneers themselves. Many religious persons in the East sent contributions to the frontier regions to aid in the establishment of churches. William Sewall, an early settler in Cass County, Illinois, while back home in Maine on a visit, on Monday, August 9, 1841, noted: "Today Rev. Mr. Tappan gave me $10.00, and Father gave me $5.00 for the use of Panther Creek Church."[15] This money was probably used for supporting the church but many buildings or chapels were built with funds sent from the East, as was the case of the Grigg's Chapel in the same county in the 1840's. Next to the home the church was probably the most important single institution in the life of pioneer America.

The first schools were supported by the tuition fees paid by the parents of the students, and the teacher boarded in the neighborhood. The school terms were short and the teachers were forced to add to their small incomes by doing other kinds of work, such as working on a farm or—in older communities—clerking in a store. The furnishings of the early schools, like the pulpits and pews in the churches, though of crude construction, were often of beautiful wood. Thus three great institutions—the home, the church, and the school—each contributed a part in the development of Illinois from an early period.

Until the cabinetmaker had established himself permanently in a town, the household furniture was made chiefly by members of the family. There were, of course, a few pieces which had survived the forded creeks and heavy rains on the long journey from the East in the

[15] *Diary of William Sewall, 1797-1846*, edited by John Goodell ([Lincoln, Ill.], 1930), 235.

covered wagon and these served as models for the domestic workers and itinerant cabinetmakers. Lovely mahogany tables, maple four-poster beds, and an occasional rocking chair used in the old home in the East frequently have been cherished "unto the third and fourth generation" in Illinois. Such treasured possessions were an inspiration to the movers and a house suitable for such articles was often the goal of the pioneer housewife. To own a rocking chair was a mark of wealth and social prestige. In fact, the story is told of one old lady who often cautioned her relatives and friends that they should save their money, else there would be no rocking chair for their old age.

Early in the century it was impossible to obtain a rocking chair or other furniture at the shops without a special order, except in the cities. But by 1842 John W. Weir of Chicago had "constantly on hand and for sale, all kinds of cabinet furniture."[16] In the smaller towns the custom of building furniture in the local shop to fill specific orders prevailed much longer. Many pioneers saved a few choice walnut or wild cherry boards to be taken to the cabinetmaker after they had been thoroughly dried and seasoned. Many of these beautiful pieces have very plain and simple lines while others are an expression of the ideals of the eastern style centers. Most of this furniture was utilitarian in the extreme, as is easily seen in the "kitchen safe" with its tin doors punched in interesting designs and concealing apple pies or jars of preserves and jam. Just as Duncan Phyfe produced his own distinctive styles in fashionable New York, these provincial workmen had their own particular ideas of design. For example, in one com-

[16] *The Union Agriculturist and Western Prairie Farmer*, VI (Jan., 1842), 28.

The Gatton Home, Bath, Illinois

munity in central Illinois, five walnut cupboards, all in use for over sixty years and of very similar pattern, were seen recently. Many times various woods were combined, such as walnut and mulberry or some other of the fruit woods. Wild cherry was quite popular for many years.

Ingenuity and imagination were required of pioneer housewives in the preparation of the necessities of daily living for their families. One of the most serious difficulties was concerned with the storage of the foods produced on the farm each year. Underground caves or outside cellars were dug and in them were kept the apples, vinegar, lard, salt pork, turnips, potatoes, nuts, and any other surplus for winter. Dried apples, peaches, and corn were kept in the attic or occasionally in a huge box under the best bed. "Beef rings," a system which still prevails in many rural areas, were organized by the earliest settlers. Each family, in turn, killed a beef and divided it with the neighbors so that it was possible for them all to have fresh meat continuously in the winter.

Hogs were butchered during the cold season, cut up, salted, and smoked with hickory wood. Salt was very precious at times, and some people even gathered up the dirt under the board floor of the smokehouse and boiled it to get any which had been lost. Hominy was a product of home manufacture, and white corn was believed to make the best. The large kernels were heated in rain water to which had been added some "home made lye." This lye water was usually made the previous day by boiling wood ashes and then straining them, leaving the water clear. This process of cooking with lye water removed the outer kernel of the corn

and the hominy remained. Hominy was a staple article of diet for many generations of frontiersmen. Corn was also ground at the mills into meal which was used ordinarily for baking. The precious white flour was kept for baking for special occasions such as a wedding or a "house raising." Sugar was quite expensive so either honey or the sirup taken from the maple trees in the spring was often substituted. The honey was taken from the bee tree after the original owners had been driven out by the smoke of burning rags. The maple sirup was more of a chore since it had to be boiled down over a raging fire until the proper consistency was reached. Nuts were another important item in the diet list. In sharp contrast to the back breaking work necessary for the corn, they must have seemed a gift from heaven.

There were small gardens on each farm, which usually received the attention of the women members of the family. Mrs. Tillson mentioned such a garden:

> She [Mrs. David Kilpatrick] with her daughters, Peggy and Polly, had mauled rails enough to fence a "truck patch," and a cotton and indigo patch. Here every year she planted her cotton, indigo, cabbage, potatoes, and whatever else the wants and appetites of her family called for.[17]

The cotton and indigo were probably as important as the cabbages and potatoes.

Wash day on the frontier meant great effort and patience. The soiled clothing was pounded and rubbed with a stick as it lay on a bench and the water was all removed by hand wringing. The water for this washing was either carried from a nearby spring or obtained from rain barrels placed at the corners of the house

[17] Tillson, *A Woman's Story of Pioneer Illinois*, 25.

where the crude wooden gutters drained. In fact, easy access to a spring was one of the most important factors in the selection of a homesite.

The soap was made at home. Ashes were saved and stored in a rude trough until it was time to make the soap. Every little bit of grease, such as the meat fryings, etc., was kept, no matter how strong and ill-smelling it had become. When mixed with the home-made lye it was carefully cooked in a huge iron kettle outdoors, until the proper consistency was reached. A whole day was spent in stirring this greasy mixture and then it did not always mix for sometimes the lye and grease refused to make soap. The same iron kettle, carefully scrubbed, was used at butchering time to cook the lard. Apple butter was made in a huge brass kettle, faithfully scoured and polished with vinegar and salt.

Another task which fell to the lot of the pioneer housewife was that of candlemaking:

> The most tedious thing was candle-making . . . . I used to dip sixteen dozen in the fall and twenty dozen in the spring. For the spring candles I boiled the tallow in alum water to harden it for summer use. . . . from three to four mortal hours the right arm must be in constant movement. If a rest is given to the arm the candles become too hard and break, and the tallow in the pot gets too cool, so dip, dip, dip, six candles at a time; each time the candles grow heavier and heavier, and the shoulder more rebellious. Besides the dipped candles I had moulds in which I could mould two dozen at once, and all the accumulations from the beef that we weekly cooked was turned into moulded candles, which . . . looked well, but did not give as clear a light. . . . I sometimes bought a cake of deer's tallow; it was harder than beef, but not as white; the natives used to put beeswax in their tallow. I tried it, but found they emitted an unpleasant smoke.[18]

Since so much drudgery was involved in obtaining

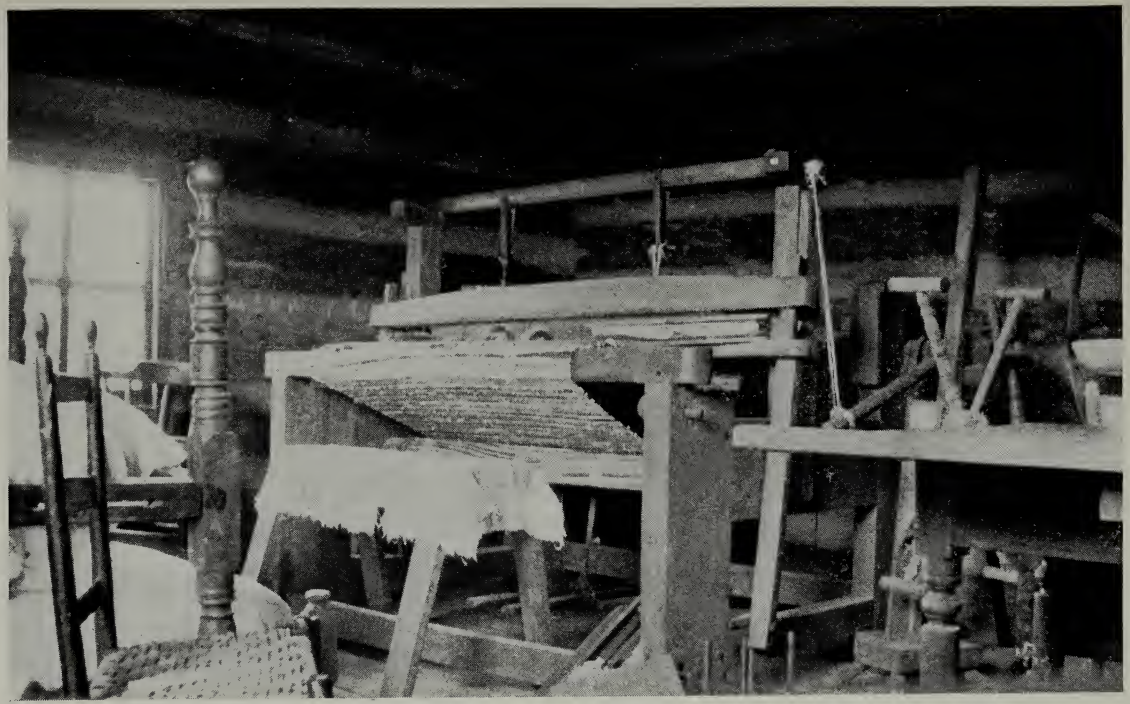
[18] Tillson, *A Woman's Story of Pioneer Illinois*, 149-50.

such a meager light it is not surprising that people went "to bed with the chickens," and were up and at work at daybreak. People sometimes burned lard. Mrs. Tillson described such a practice: "A saucer standing on the table, filled with lard, with a strip of white cloth laid in it, and one end raised up at the side of the saucer, burning, served to light the table and the whole room." Mrs. Burlend, who lived in Pike County, did not especially favor this particular form of illumination since the heat often cracked the saucer and it was practically impossible to replace one's stock of china.[19]

Cheese making was another annual event. In July and August when the weather was so hot that butter "did not come well" the milk was saved for cheese. This process was long and complicated and required much skill. Making good cheese was just another of the many accomplishments of these capable women. In the winter, milk was sometimes frozen for future use. Butter could be stored in a brine similar to that used for "putting down" eggs. Since the hens didn't lay much when cold weather came, and the valuable cow might wander away or die, it was most important to have a supply of both eggs and milk on hand for use in such emergencies.

When we realize that the hogs, cattle, and geese furnished not only meat, but also soap, candles, feather beds and pillows, and were beasts of burden as well, it is easier to understand the importance of caring for the barnyard animals and the entire family's interest in them. Although our pioneers in Illinois seldom had their livestock uuder the same roof as their families—

[19] Tillson, *A Woman's Story of Pioneer Illinois*, 61; Burlend, *True Picture of Emigration*, 65-66.



Pioneer Loom

as did their European contemporaries—their most careful attention was given to their safety and care.

It was in clothing the family that the height of ingenuity was reached. The very first frontiersmen dressed the skins of the animals they had killed and made them into clothes. In a region terrorized by wolves it was impossible to keep sheep and thus a most valuable source of raw material was lost. But when settlements became less sparse it was easier to take care of sheep. They require very little to eat and the value of the fleece which can be taken annually is very important to a family dependent on the wool. In so far as possible the sheep were kept away from burs and briars, which tangled the wool and made carding difficult. The shearing was always done in the spring, as soon as the weather was warm enough and the farmer could spare a day from the field. The wool was carefully washed and dried in the sun before carding. Most people owned their own simple hand cards or wool combs but even in the West carding machines were set up at an early date and were operated until Civil War times. When our grandmothers took their wool to town for carding, a step was taken toward the establishment of the complex industrial organization which now exists in Illinois.

The spinning was done at home on a large wool wheel and the yarn was wound on a reel kept for that purpose. These soft fluffy hanks were kept for weaving or used for knitting. Stockings, fascinators, and mittens were all made on small steel needles, many times at night by the light of the fire in the huge fireplace. Sweaters seem to be a more modern development, though this seems rather strange to us today for their

making should have been very simple to one experienced in handling four needles at a time in turning a sock.

Sometimes the hanks of yarn were dyed or perhaps the material was colored after weaving. Our grandmothers used vegetable dyes almost entirely and only those which were most readily available. White walnut bark was used for brown but the addition of a big tablespoonful of copperas and "handful of shumaker berries makes it black." Indigo was the standard source of blue, while green dye was boiled from the hickory bark and yellow from yellow hickory bark or the flowers of the black-eyed Susan. Each woman had her own ideas on the subject and usually the colors were very effective, having a distinctiveness and ruggedness which is still pleasing after seventy-five to eighty years.

Flax and cotton were also raised and after preliminary preparation were spun into thread. Linen, due to its very structure, does not take dye readily, so it was usually either bleached white or used unbleached. Alternately sprinkling and spreading the material in the sunshine, week in and week out, was a rather high price to pay for snowy linens. Cotton, like wool, was easily dyed, and it was usually colored before weaving.

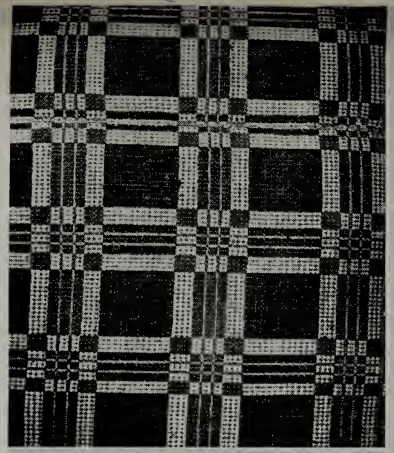
A huge awkward loom was found in most pioneer homes in spite of the fact that it required a large share of the floor space. The very construction would not allow the weaving of complicated designs, but some lovely textiles were made on these crude looms. The beautiful white linen of plain weave needed no further decoration. Woven in strips twenty-seven or thirty-six inches wide, two pieces were sewed together for sheets. A

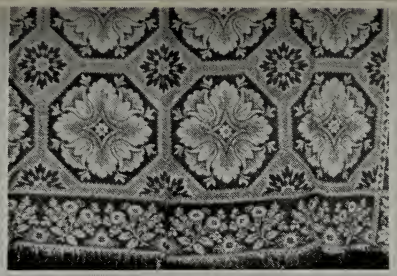
capable carpenter could build the loom so as to make possible variations of the plain or tabby pattern. A carefully planned arrangement of warp, when threading up the loom, made checks, plaids or other designs possible. There were several combinations of warp and filler or woof. The warp threads strung through the loom must be the stronger and were either cotton, linen, or tightly twisted woolen yarns. The woof was sometimes the same as the warp but woolen filler was used many times with linen or cotton warp threads. Clothing was made from this cloth, each stitch put in by hand for this was before the time of the sewing machine. It might seem that the dresses did not have much "style" but the "sunbonnet ladies" followed the latest trends of fashion as best they could. Dolls dressed in the newest mode traveled from house to house to serve as models. It was men's clothing that was most difficult to make. Usually only the best or "Sunday" clothes of the men were bought at the store while everyday attire was made of "linsey-woolsey" or linen. There was no great concern for fit in making these garments.

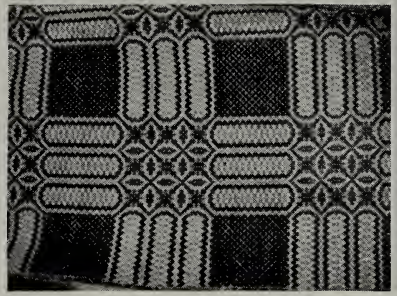
The coverlets were probably the most distinctive products of the busy fingers and crude looms of pioneering America. Those beautiful spreads must have been a source of great satisfaction as their designers "surveyed the work of their lands" and remembered the many processes necessary before the coverlet could be spread on the best bed—the sheep shearing, washing of the wool, spinning of the wool, and possibly the cotton or linen for the warp, the dyeing, the threading of the loom, the actual weaving, and last the sewing together of the narrow strips and hemming them, for the or-

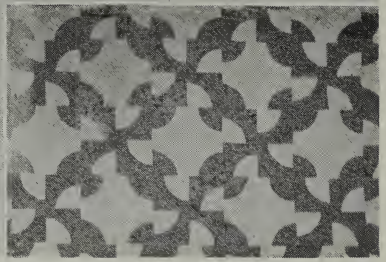
dinary cottage loom did not weave very wide strips. A very competent woman would sometimes make as many as five or six coverlets for each of her children when they "set out." The actual weaving probably did not take so long, but threading the loom was a trying and monotonous task. The domestic weavers had drafts of their patterns as did the professionals, their limitations of design being due only to the differences in the looms. Their patterns too, had attractive and interesting names, as "Chariot Wheels," "Sunrise" or "Blazing Star." Professional weavers using the Jacquard loom, usually signed their work by weaving their own names and the date. Sometimes the name of the owner was woven into a corner of the coverlet. This practice makes identification quite simple and present generations are grateful for these marks. Many Illinois families of today have helped to establish their genealogical records by coverlets which were brought from New York or Pennsylvania at the time of the westward migration of their ancestors. Many of these designs were quite elaborate, some having eagles or inscriptions as "E Pluribus Unum," expressing the patriotic sentiments which were so intense at the time. The "Boston Town" coverlet, whose motif was a stylized arrangement of public buildings, was quite popular. The patterns of the pioneer mother in the log cabin were not so complicated, but by careful arrangement of color and regular geometrical figures, a most pleasing effect was produced. In fact, it is with a great deal of pride that the owner of such a masterpiece will say "my great-grandmother made it."

The floor coverings for the frontier homes were made on the same looms which had been used for weaving the household linens and garment material. Carpet









Pioneer Quilts and Coverlets

rags were made from worn, discarded clothing cut into strips approximately one-half inch wide and then sewed together and used as a filler, while the warp threads were new, and might be either cotton or linen. Thirty-six inch strips of carpet, arranged and sewed to fit the parlor or best bedroom, were spread over straw and tacked to the floor. In the spring and fall, this was taken up—accompanied by much sneezing—carefully beaten, then stretched and tacked again. Between times very particular housekeepers scrubbed these homemade rugs and then built a very hot fire in the stove to dry them as rapidly as possible. Some of these carpets were quite attractive and provided an appropriate background for the substantial furniture. Long after the average household had discarded its looms, spinning wheels, and other paraphernalia, professional weavers made hundreds of yards of carpeting for use in Illinois homes and provided a good livelihood for themselves. Like the date when the first eighty was entered by the pioneer farmer, the acquisition of the parlor carpet was also a milestone in the life of the Illinois family of the mid-nineteenth century.

In addition to the floor coverings made on the loom there were hooked rugs, which required much less elaborate equipment for their production. Bits of cloth drawn through burlap which had been tacked to a frame were arranged in quaint and effective designs of roses, leaves, or the barnyard animals. Crocheted rugs were also made, utilizing many worn garments as did those which were knitted. It was indeed most unusual for a frontier family to have a factory made rug. One source of cash income for the early settlers was the sale of linen cloth. Usually, however, credit was given at

the store and salt, coffee, shoes, or white flour were taken in exchange for the linen which was ordinarily valued at forty cents a yard. A loom was surely one of the necessities of life.

Quilt making was a very important and interesting feature of pioneer life. The exchange of quilt patterns was not only a social custom but was also an economic factor. Each tiny piece of material must be used and it was a clever woman who could contrive an unusual version or effective design. "The Log Cabin" block, which was suggestive of the arrangement of the logs in a cabin, could be made from very small pieces so it effectively utilized scraps of many colors. This was but one of the many patterns popular on the frontier. When the top was finished and ready for quilting the neighbors were invited in and given an opportunity to exhibit their skill. The quilting party was an event of social importance. It was an all-day affair, sometimes with dinner served at noon and a heavy supper at night, enjoyed not only by the quilters but also by the masculine members of the families.

Then there were those very special quilts which required years of labor. By the 1840's the best quilt was usually appliquéd and the quilting design was quite elaborate. Such a top would be quilted by the person making it and would remain as a memorial to her skill. Some of these have lasted for several generations because there was a tendency not to use anything which had required so long to make. Knowing the amount of time involved in the production of any article made the frontier have respect for it. A quilt was quite practical, for bed coverings were needed, and if a little color and beauty could enter a dark cabin it was more

than just an item of comfort. Little girls were started on their first quilt, usually a four-patch or a nine-patch, just as soon as their tiny fingers could hold the needle. In fact, this was an essential part of their education. It was very important and necessary that frontier girls learn how to sew, and their mothers reached the logical conclusion that matching and fitting together small quilt pieces resulted in a knowledge of sewing skill as well as a covering for the bed.

Living on the frontier was lonely and hard, but the pioneers developed their resources and ingenuity to a degree which was most evident in their homes. A contemporary writer declared: "Life in the West is certainly something different from any thing the world has ever seen anywhere else."[20]

"The woman in the sunbonnet" with her spinning, weaving, gardening, sewing, dyeing, and cooking, is one of the heroines of all time. The simple iron kettle, a product of the new industrial era, carried across the mountains and used in a newly established frontier cabin home in the West and later in a lovely white house of Greek Revival style, typified many phases of American development. By 1860 some of the elegance of the earlier Federalist period had migrated to Illinois as the people and their culture moved westward. History is, indeed, found in the simple things of life.

[20] *North American Review*, XLIX (July, 1839), 271.

# ROCK ISLAND AND THE ROCK ISLAND ARSENAL

BY IRA OLIVER NOTHSTEIN

JULY eleventh, 1940 marked the passage of seventy-eight years since Congress authorized the erection of "an arsenal for the deposit and repair of arms and other munitions of war" on Rock Island in the Mississippi River, between the cities of Rock Island and Moline, on the Illinois side, and Davenport on the Iowa side. The ultimate beginnings of this great and important institution, however, go back much further.

Twenty-two years earlier (in 1840) Congress had in fact established an arms depot on the island, using buildings originally erected in 1816 for the use of Fort Armstrong, and had for five years maintained it as the distributing center of arms and ammunition for the military forces of the Northwest. This depot was discontinued with the outbreak of the war with Mexico and its supplies transferred to St. Louis; but the War Department kept in mind the necessity of having an extensive armory in the Middle West and well knew the appropriateness of Rock Island for this purpose.

In 1854 the Secretary of War in his annual message assured Congress that the time had come to move one of the eastern arsenals to the Middle West, stating that this matter had heretofore received attention and had been the subject of frequent inquiries and that it probably

would have been done already if there had not been a feeling among some congressmen that the two eastern arsenals (at Springfield, Massachusetts and at Harper's Ferry, Virginia) were abundantly able to supply the needs of the whole country. This Secretary of War was none other than Jefferson Davis, who as a young officer of the United States Army had had firsthand acquaintance with Fort Armstrong on Rock Island, having served in the Black Hawk War in 1832 and having had personal charge of Chief Black Hawk when the prisoners taken after the Battle of Bad Axe were brought to the fort.

When in 1853 and 1854 attempts were made to get Congress to permit the sale of the island to private investors and real estate dealers, the War Department was easily able to prevent this sale. When Secretary of War Davis referred the requests of the would-be purchasers to the Quartermaster General, I. S. Jessup, for his opinion, the latter replied, in a letter dated January 27, 1854:

> . . . The reserve is no longer necessary for works of mere frontier defence; but from its natural as well as artificial advantages, it is the best site in the whole country between the Alleghany and the Rocky Mountains for a national armory, and for an arsenal for the manufacture of wagons, ambulances, clothing, equipage and equipment for the use of the army.

Mr. Davis heartily agreed with these views and refused both then and later to sanction the sale of any portion of the island for private use, and it is undoubtedly due to his attitude that the War Department held to this same point of view until general public sentiment for military use of the island had been so crystallized that nothing could change it.

Even before the island had been fortified in 1816, the War Department had recognized its importance and in 1809 had secured congressional action setting it apart from the public lands, to be reserved for military use for all future time.

We may well ask why this island, surrounded as it was at that early day by a savage wilderness, hundreds of miles from the nearest white settlements, should have made such a strong impression upon the young and struggling government in faraway Washington, D. C. What were those "natural advantages" which made it stand out from the thousands of other islands in the Mississippi River? One may answer these questions by saying that Nature seems to have been particularly kind to this spot when she made up the American continent.

Geologists tell us that this part of the country was submerged a number of times by the ocean and that it was covered by ice sheets of the glacial period at least three times. Between these up and down movements there were long periods when the climate became hot and moist—tropical forests grew up, flourished and decayed and were turned into coal measures. When all the settling and upheaving, freezing and heating were finished, the net result was a lovely prairie country interspersed with rolling forest lands. The soil was marvelously fertile, the climate was equable and healthful. The earliest travelers all remarked on the beauty of the wooded hills, the plentiful springs and streams and the cultivated appearance of the prairie lands. Grazing deer and buffalo usually kept the grass short, even as though it had been harvested by man.

Had the forces of Nature raised this part of the coun-

try a little higher or left it a little lower, Rock Island of course never would have been formed. But instead of here creating a mountain or a lake they depressed it just enough to make it the natural drainage basin of the Middle West. A mighty river was marked out to run from north to south with great branches reaching enormous distances to the east and west, north and south; so that a traveler in a boat, starting at what is now called Rock Island could visit Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Wyoming, and Montana. By using short portages he could also reach Michigan, a good part of Canada, Hudson Bay, the whole St. Lawrence Valley, New York, and Vermont, in addition to most parts of Illinois itself.

In the channel of the great central river, at north latitude forty degrees and thirty minutes, Nature fashioned an island different from any other in its long course. Had it not been built of rock to within three feet of its surface, or had it been raised twenty feet higher or depressed ten feet lower than it is, it could never have become the site of the arsenal. It seems as though the same kindly Nature planned to put this island just at north latitude forty degrees and thirty minutes so that it might be about even with the southern tip of Lake Michigan. It was, therefore, on the most direct east-west highway across the country, so that land travelers going east or west and seeking the shortest distance across the continent would strike the Mississippi at this point. On coming to the river and looking for the best place to cross they would find that

Nature had continued her generous mood and provided just here one of the few places where the river could be forded in low water, and where alone it was feasible at a later day to build the first railroad bridge across the Father of Waters.

At this crossroads of east-west and north-south travel, first by the buffalo which beat the first trail across the midwestern country over this island, then by the Indians who used the same trail, and finally by the white men who used the Indian's trail for their roads and railroad, it was logical that a great manufacturing and distributing center should grow up, where the needs of our army could be abundantly supplied.

Having thus provided an unusually suitable site for an arsenal, Nature added one more touch which made its appeal irresistible, by pushing up the river bed at the head of the island just the required number of feet to provide an immense water power, which she supplemented by the coal beds previously laid down under the rich soil nearby. Such are the chief "natural advantages" which appealed to the judgment of the United States military authorities back in 1809 when they set this island apart as a military reservation.

Long before the white man "came, saw and conquered," the Indians had discovered and gratefully possessed this spot. Indians, as has been well said, chose the location of their settlements just as carefully as the white men did after them. They took into consideration the advantages to be derived from any proposed site in regard to the abundance of game, the fertility of the soil, the convenience of waterways and trails, and strategic importance. In other words, they

looked for a site which offered the best prospects of food, raw materials, transportation, markets and defense—just as the white man does. Therefore they preferred, after finding a fertile game country, to settle where there was a navigable stream, or a lake, a good trail, near a mountain or hill from which an outlook could be had over the surrounding country, and, if possible, near a ford or portage which would enable them to lay tribute on travelers and to intercept an enemy in time of war. At Rock Island they found all these advantages combined in an unusual manner. Consequently we find that this locality was always, during aboriginal times, thickly and permanently settled. Burial mounds, shell-heaps and other remains speak of a long history of human occupation.

When the first recorded expedition of white men came down the Mississippi River—that of M. Jolliet and Father Marquette with their crew of five Frenchmen, in 1673—it is not unreasonable to suppose that it was near here that they saw the first Indian settlement since they had left the upper reaches of the Wisconsin.[1]

While it is almost unthinkable that so admirable and valuable a vantage point had at any time remained unoccupied while Indians had access to it, unquestionable history as to its permanent occupation does not

[1] The location of Peouarea, the Illinois Indian settlement which the party discovered on June 25, is an extremely controversial subject. See a discussion of the various locations which have been suggested as the result of the study of Marquette's narrative and various maps in Laenas G. Weld, "Joliet and Marquette in Iowa," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. I, no. 1 (Jan., 1903), 3-16. It is certain that the landing took place somewhere between the Wapsipinicon and Iowa rivers. Rock Island, with its great east-west trail, is about halfway between the mouths of these two rivers, and the place where they "saw upon the water's edge, human footprints and a well beaten footpath leading to a beautiful prairie" could well have been opposite the island, where Davenport now stands. Two leagues and a half north from the Mississippi at this point would bring them close to the Wapsipinicon River. The further fact that Franquelin's *Carte de la Louisiane* (1684) places Peouarea on a stream that corresponds to the Wapsipinicon, seems to throw the weight of evidence in that direction.

begin until the united Sauk and Fox tribes moved into the Illinois Country from Green Bay. These Indians, the most uncompromising and independent of all the native tribes with whom the French conquerors came in contact, were forced out of their Green Bay location about 1680 and began to fight their way to the Mississippi. In a few decades they had driven the Illinois, including the Peoria, to the south and east of the Illinois River and had made themselves masters of northern Illinois and of the eastern half of Iowa, also forming an alliance with the Potawatomi, Menominee, and Winnebago.

It was about 1722 when they completed their conquests. By that time they were settled about where we find them at the outbreak of the Black Hawk War. Their main village, or capital, was at the foot of the Watch Tower, between the Rock and the Mississippi rivers, i. e., on the great trail that led to Detroit around the southern end of Lake Michigan and crossed the rivers here. Their smaller villages were located mostly along the Mississippi from Rock Island to the present site of Galena, where they early developed the lead mines and smelted the ore. At one time they had as many as twenty furnaces in operation, and supplied lead for the French, the English, and the American armies in succession.

Rock Island was their natural fortress in time of war. Here they placed their women and children and their movable possessions in times of danger. The council lodge, athletic field, and the homes of the chiefs were located near the Rock River, where the bulk of the population (estimated to have been as high as 10,000 souls at times) lived. The island was on ordinary

occasions used by the Indians as a place of recreation and was also venerated as the abode of a Good Spirit who was believed to manifest himself sometimes in the form of a great white swan. Here they came to gather wild nuts, fruits and berries in season and to worship. Where the trail crossed the island the British traders used to set up their temporary trading establishments at the same place where later on the American fur traders, George Davenport and Russel Farnham, were permanently located. The French and other traders usually set up their stands on the next island below Rock Island which thence got its name, Credit Island.

As soon as the French had become masters of the Illinois Country and could spare some men, they established here a small military post in order to keep an eye on the Sauk and Foxes, to foster trade, and to keep open the communications with the French settlements three hundred miles to the south.

Joseph la Malgue, Sieur Marin fils, captain and chevalier of the military order of St. Louis, was stationed here from 1738 to 1740, and was in command, after the death of his father, during 1752 and 1753 and again in 1755. So successful was this arrangement in tying up the Sauk and Foxes with the French regime that we find some of these Indians fighting with Villemonde in western Pennsylvania in 1755, helping to defeat Braddock, and in the army of General Montcalm during the campaign down Lakes Champlain and George, helping him to capture Fort William Henry in 1857. But French control of the West was drawing to a close. In 1760 the French garrison at Green Bay, Wisconsin capitulated and started its retreat down the Mississippi Valley towards New Orleans, under the command

of Louis Liénard, Sieur de Beaujeu de Villemonde, a brother of the hero of Braddock's defeat. It was late in the year, and when they reached Rock Island they found themselves stopped by the freezing of the river. In consequence, Villemonde and his remnant consisting of four officers, two cadets, forty-eight soldiers, and seventy-eight militia, spent the winter of 1760-1761 as the guests of the Sauk and Fox nation in their great village at this point.

Scarcely were the British certain of victory in the war, before their agents had penetrated the Illinois Country and early in 1760 they had already selected the Sauk capital at Rock Island as their central trading point for all the Indians belonging to the Illinois nations, thus recognizing its importance as a trading and military center.

Though the British were now the owners of the country, they were too few in numbers to take over both the police work and the development of the trade opportunities. Consequently they employed French traders and even French officials, who were familiar with the country and with the work among the Indians, to supplement their own efforts, and thus the natives really had more contacts with the French than with the English. For the next twenty-five or thirty years the Indians hardly knew who were their masters, for besides the French and the English, the Spaniards were reaching out from Louisiana for the Indian trade and were hoping that in the confusion of the reconstruction, Spain might grasp the French possessions. Then, as the American Revolution developed, a fourth element entered into the picture. The "Bostonians," as the English called the rebellious colonists, "explored" the possi-

bilities of keeping the Indians from aiding the English, and sent their agents to the Sauk and Foxes to form an alliance of friendship. Thus the Indians, torn between their loyalties and their greed, did just as white people would have done under the same circumstances. They became divided into factions as to their sympathies, but they sold horses and lead and corn indiscriminately to the highest bidders. Many an expedition of the white men would have failed if the Indians had not supplied food and horses for their use. Thus, for the section of country of which we are now speaking, the Rock Island Indians were even in their time maintaining a sort of arsenal.

In July, 1778, the American government sent agents to the Sauk and Foxes, who succeeded to some extent in pledging them to keep out of the British expeditions. After the coming of George Rogers Clark, messengers were sent to all the tribes of the old Northwest, inviting them to come to Cahokia to join with him in treaties of peace. Large numbers came and signed peace treaties, but evidently not all the members of the various tribes considered themselves bound by these agreements. Among the Sauk and Foxes we find a so-called "British party" whose leader was the young and gifted Black Hawk, and on the other hand an "American party" led by La Maine Cassee. It was this latter party, and especially its leader, who turned the scales in favor of the Americans in the Upper Mississippi Valley both in 1779 and in the War of 1812, and saved the Northwest to the United States. Owing to Cassee's efforts the American revolutionists were enabled to obtain lead for bullets from the lead mines. The British Captain, Emanuel Hesse, reported confiscating fifty

tons which was being shipped to the Americans down the Mississippi. After the War of 1812 the British Commander, in his report, laid the blame for the British defeat at St. Louis and Cahokia at the feet of the Rock Island Indians, some of whom marched with the British force but held back during the attack and obliged the commander to retreat without accomplishing his objectives. Thus was lost the last chance of the British to retake the Illinois Country.

It was a bitter turn of fate that the Americans, knowing nothing of the debt they owed to the efforts of La Maine Cassee and his party, should send a punitive expedition of 350 men under Colonel John Montgomery to the Sauk village in 1780, where they drove out 700 Sauk warriors, who offered little resistance, and burned their capital to the ground. This was the westernmost battle of the Revolutionary War, and was perhaps the first occasion on which the American flag was seen at Rock Island.

By the treaty of 1783 with Great Britain the United States was placed in possession of the future arsenal island. The natural right of the Indians to the Illinois Country was duly recognized. In a treaty with the Sauk and Foxes, made at Fort Harmar on January 9, 1789, the Indians were given the privilege of remaining and hunting on the territory ceded by Great Britain as long as they should "demean themselves peaceably and offer no injury or annoyance to any of the subjects or citizens of the said United States." Successive purchases of the territory were made from the same Indians before they were required to move to areas farther west.

That part of Illinois in which Rock Island is located was purchased in a treaty made with six chiefs of the

Sauk and Foxes at St. Louis on November 3, 1804. The treaty contained a clause which said that the Indians should have the privilege of living and hunting upon the land just sold as long as it remained unsold to settlers. Black Hawk and his party always contended, however, that it had not been the intention of the Indians to include the island and their village site at the Rock River in this sale, and after he learned what the white men's claims covered he ever after refused to touch a penny of the annual payments made by the government for the same. The larger part of the tribe, however, accepted the white men's interpretation of the treaty, and abandoned the locality in 1829 when requested to do so by the government agent.

In August, 1805, Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike was sent up the river from St. Louis with an exploring party to learn more about the Mississippi River and adjoining territory, noting sites for forts, smoking the peace pipe with the tribes along the river, and checking up on the operations of the British traders who had not ceased their activities on this side of the border.

At the outbreak of the War of 1812, a British agent, La Guthre, came to get recruits from among the Indians. He brought two boatloads of goods and set up his store on Rock Island, with the British flag flying above it. This was the last time a foreign flag was raised on this spot. Black Hawk and some members of his tribe enlisted and fought with the British in the East. Early in 1814 he returned to the Rock River village. In May of that year Governor William Clark took a force of 190 soldiers in five barges from St. Louis to Prairie du Chien. At the mouth of the Rock River he was attacked by the Sauk war party, but drove them off and took

some prisoners, who were released on their promise not to fight against the Americans.

A second expedition, consisting of 110 soldiers and 21 civilians under Captain John Campbell, left St. Louis early in July to carry reinforcements to the fort at Prairie du Chien. The force landed at the Sauk village to spend the night. Next morning as they were slowly working their way up river against a strong wind they were attacked by Black Hawk and his British band at Campbell's Island, the next island above Rock Island, and were badly defeated.

After this disaster another and larger expedition was fitted out, the object of which was to punish the Indians at Rock Island and to establish a fort at or near that place. The detachment was under the command of Major Zachary Taylor (afterwards President of the United States) and consisted of 334 officers and men. In the meantime a British detachment, accompanied by about 1,500 Indians of various tribes, had arrived with several large guns. When Major Taylor came opposite the mouth of the Rock River on September 4, he was fired on by the British guns, which had been mounted on Credit Island; and the Indians in their war canoes and from the thick undergrowth along the islands and river banks attacked his boats on every side. The Americans hardly dared to open the portholes to fire back at the enemy. The result was that to save the expedition from utter destruction the officers decided to allow their boats to drift back down the river. In preparing for this battle the Sauk and Foxes had placed all their women, children and movable goods on Rock Island for protection—the last time they were able to use it for this purpose.

In September, 1815, the Eighth United States Infantry, under the command of Colonel R. C. Nichols, was sent up the river from St. Louis to establish a fort at or near Rock Island. The expedition was obliged to spend the winter at the mouth of the Des Moines River on account of an early freezing of the Mississippi. In the spring, under a new commander—Brigadier General Thomas A. Smith—and with an additional rifle regiment, the expedition continued its progress up the river and arrived at the mouth of the Rock River early in May. After examining the country carefully, General Smith fixed upon the west end of Rock Island as the best site for the fort. The troops were landed there on May 10 and at once began to cut timber for the buildings of the fort and for a temporary breastworks for the protection of the garrison and the stores.

Black Hawk with his associate chiefs was at this very time in St. Louis in answer to an invitation from the United States government to negotiate a new treaty. This time he signed a document which in effect affirmed the treaty of 1804. In consequence of this absence of the chiefs, there was no response when General Smith sent messengers to the Sauk village, the day after he landed on the island, to invite the Indians to a council.

General Smith soon left with the rifle regiment and proceeded up the river to reoccupy the fort at Prairie du Chien and to establish a fort (now called Fort Snelling) in the vicinity of St. Anthony's Falls.

Colonel William Lawrence, who was left in command of the Eighth Infantry, at once began the construction of the fort, which was named Fort Armstrong, in memory of the Secretary of War who had just died.

The interior of the structure was 270 feet square. The lower half of the twenty-foot high walls was built of stone and the upper half of timber, both stone and timber being taken from the island. Walls were built only on the south and east sides—the north and west sides were the rock cliffs which dropped twenty feet straight down to the river bed. Along the edge of the cliffs a strong wooden fence was constructed. At each end of the high walls there was a two-story blockhouse in which cannon were placed. Against the walls were constructed the barracks, storehouses, and hospital two stories high and twenty feet wide, with the roofs sloping inward. The powder magazine was built of stone, partly underground near the southeast corner. On the west side stood the large two-story house built for the commandant, his household, and his office staff. Along the north side were houses for the officers, the surgeon, the interpreter, the Indian agent, the blacksmith and the servants, one of whom, Dred Scott, afterwards became nationally known on account of the United States Supreme Court decision affecting his status as a slave.

The commissary department was built outside the fort to the east. The man in charge of the department at the beginning was George Davenport, an ex-soldier who had served in the American Army during the War of 1812. He traveled all the way back to Cincinnati, Ohio that fall and brought his young bride to live in his log cabin and thus established the first home in what was later to be known as Rock Island County. Later the interpreter, the blacksmith, the Indian agent, and other persons connected with the work at the fort and with the Indian trade erected houses outside the fort near Davenport's, and a village grew up, which

*Courtesy Rock Island Arsenal*

FORT ARMSTRONG IN 1819

was known as Rock Island Village. Large stockades were built about the land side entrance to the fort to enclose the stables, blacksmith shop and storehouses, and also about Davenport's residence. A large plat of ground was enclosed on the south side of the fort in which fine vegetable gardens were maintained. Still farther south a cemetery plot was laid out and enclosed. When the fort was completed, it was given a coat of whitewash, and travelers of that day expressed themselves as greatly impressed with the solid, imposing and well-kept appearance which it presented.

The Indians soon became accustomed to the presence of the fort in their former "pleasure garden" and refuge. They even came bringing gifts of meat and vegetables for the soldiers, and friendly relations between them and the garrison seem to have prevailed until the beginning of the Black Hawk War, in 1831. Much of the credit for this must be attributed to the humane and sympathetic attitude which distinguished both George Davenport and Antoine LeClaire. The latter, Indian interpreter who was best known and longest in the service of all those stationed at Rock Island, was the son of a French father and his Indian wife, the granddaughter of a Potawatomi chief. He had been specially trained for this service by the United States government, and was highly gifted as a linguist. Upright, devout, shrewd, and amiable, he was probably the best friend the Sauk and Foxes ever had among the Americans,thoughDavenport was a close second. LeClaire, like Davenport, spent most of his life in this locality and became the founder of the city of Davenport, Iowa.

The garrison varied in size from year to year. In the beginning 600 soldiers were stationed there. This num-

ber was soon reduced to 100. From 1819 to 1823 only 100 men were kept at the post, and for the rest of the time, until 1836, there were 200 men in the service, except during the time of the Black Hawk War, when larger numbers were temporarily located there.

In 1815 the government had settled the Ottawa, Chippewa and Potawatomi in Illinois and designated the line mentioned in the Ordinance of 1787 as the southern boundary of their territory. This line was to run straight east and west through the lower tip of Lake Michigan, but as yet it had not been surveyed. In 1819 Sullivan and Duncan ran the survey and the end of their line struck the Mississippi River at a point just opposite the upper end of Rock Island. The Indians objected to this sign of advancing white civilization and soon removed all the markers left by the surveyors. A resurvey, consequently, had to be made; and in 1821, Flack and Bean ran a new line which failed to coincide with the first, and its end struck the Mississippi in what is now the west end of the city of Rock Island. Its location in Rock Island is plainly visible, as Ninth Avenue of the city is laid out along this old Indian boundary line. This survey is of more than local interest as it was the first survey in northern Illinois and is still the base of land surveys for a hundred miles north and south of it.

George Davenport, who came as the head of the commissary department, resigned that position after a year but continued to reside on the island as a fur trader and farmer. His business acumen and his sympathy for the Indians made him highly successful and he became a very wealthy man. The United States government soon established the post office of Rock Island

Village in the little settlement on the island and Davenport was its first postmaster. The nearest post office to Rock Island at this time was at Clarksville, Missouri, from which place the mails were carried once every three months by Peter Williams who was also a Methodist preacher, and who is known to have preached to the people on the island in George Davenport's house as early as 1819. This was probably the first religious service ever held in northern Illinois.

In 1824 Davenport formed a partnership with Russel Farnham,[2] the remarkable explorer and world traveler, and in 1826 they built a house on the mainland. This house was later known as "the house of John Barrel," in which the first court was conducted after the organization of Rock Island County in 1833, and it was also the first post office of the little town of Farnhamsburg that grew up about it, and was the forerunner of the city of Rock Island.

Owing to the frequent relocation of Indian tribes, of peace councils to settle tribal quarrels, and of additional purchases of land by the government, many treaties were consummated on the island by the officers of the fort and the Indian agent. Nine treaties appear in the records of one year between June 9 and August 4, some of them with tribes as far away as the Teton and the Cheyenne. For about fifteen years the commanding officer of Fort Armstrong and the Indian agency located there were the central government to which some 40,000 Indians of the Northwest looked for guidance, for protection, and for the payment of their annuities.

In the winter of 1828 the first white squatters ap-

[2] See Orrin S. Holt, "Russel Farnham," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. 9, no. 3 (Oct., 1916), 284-91.

peared in the neighborhood of Rock Island. The land was not yet surveyed and was not open for entry. But these men, attracted by the rich cultivated fields of the Sauk and Fox Indians and the protection afforded by the fort, took up claims in the very limits of the Sauk village, even appropriating to their own use the Indian houses during the absence of the owners.

Friction that developed out of this unauthorized occupation eventually led to the Black Hawk War. As a means of reducing the trouble as much as possible the government proceeded to have the country adjacent to the island surveyed for settlement, and notified the Indians to remove to their lands west of the Mississippi. A large number of the Sauk and Foxes had moved even before this, and many others now left the locality. But Black Hawk and a considerable group who were particularly attached to him decided to remain, and this group offered the resistance which led to the Black Hawk War. The events of this bloody affair have been so often and so fully described that we shall pass them by at this time and shall confine ourselves to the mention of those events which had special connection with the island itself.[3]

In 1831, when matters had reached a very serious crisis, Governor Reynolds raised a force of 1,600 mounted volunteers and marched to the site of the present city of Rock Island, where he camped under the guns of Fort Armstrong directly opposite. This was the largest military force raised in Illinois up to this time. The commandant at Fort Armstrong, Captain John Bliss, had all the settlers on the frontier brought to the island

[3] For a short sketch of the Black Hawk War see John H. Hauberg, "The Black Hawk War, 1831-1832," *Illinois State Historical Society Transactions, 1932*, pp. 90-134.

*Courtesy Rock Island Arsenal*

ROCK ISLAND BARRACKS ABOUT 1864

for protection. Meantime General Edmund P. Gaines had come from St. Louis by steamer with the Sixth United States Infantry. The united military forces moved on the Sauk Village at the Rock River which they found deserted and which they thereupon burned. A few days later Black Hawk appeared and signed a treaty in which he promised to remain on the other side of the Mississippi.

The following year, however, Black Hawk again appeared with his warriors, and the alarm and excitement of preparation for war were revived throughout the settlement. The settlers were gathered in greater numbers than before on the island, seeking safety behind the stockades. When the fear of attack from the Indians was at its height General Atkinson arrived from St. Louis with his regulars and reinforced the garrison at the fort. In a few days, the Indians, who had been camped on the Rock River, moved up the river towards Prophetstown, and the military forces, which had by this time been assembled, set out after them. Governor Reynolds had hurriedly raised a force of 1,800 mounted volunteers. It has been said that no other military action in the West ever brought together so many persons of note as this one. Among the officers and soldiers in this campaign were the following: the future presidents, Abraham Lincoln and Zachary Taylor; Jefferson Davis, later president of the Confederate States of America; two of his foremost generals, Albert Sidney Johnston and Joseph E. Johnston; Generals Robert Anderson, William S. Harney, Edmund P. Gaines, Henry Atkinson, and Philip Kearney; three United States senators, Edward Dickinson Baker, James Semple and Orville H. Browning; six governors

of Illinois, John Reynolds, Joseph Duncan, Thomas Ford, Thomas Carlin, John Wood, and William L. D. Ewing; judges of all grades up to that of the Illinois Supreme Court and many other notables, such as the Reverend Peter Cartwright, Levi D. Boone, a descendant of Daniel Boone, and Colonel William S. Hamilton, a son of Alexander Hamilton.

This notable expedition set out on May 10, 1832 from the Watch Tower, and for nearly three months followed the elusive Indians through the wilderness, with brief engagements at Old Man's Creek, Indian Creek, Kellogg's Grove, Pecatonica, Apple River Fort, Wisconsin Heights, and finally at Bad Axe, where Black Hawk was defeated and his band almost annihilated.

Meantime President Jackson, wishing to end the war as soon as possible, ordered General Winfield Scott with nine companies of regulars from the Atlantic coast to proceed to Illinois. General Scott left Fortress Monroe on June 28 and reached Chicago in eighteen days. As the expedition was passing Detroit several cases of Asiatic cholera appeared among the troops. Five companies were landed at Fort Gratiot, of whom all but nine men died. General Scott with his staff went directly to Prairie du Chien, the rest of the force were to follow after a short period of quarantine. When the soldiers reached Dixon's Ferry they were informed of the defeat of Black Hawk and were told to proceed to Fort Armstrong, where they camped near the mouth of the Rock River in order not to endanger the troops camped on the island.

On August 26 cholera again broke out, and General Scott, who had arrived in the meantime, actively participated in fighting it. The disease was carried from

the camp at the Rock River to the island. There were at this time from 1,200 to 1,500 returned regulars on the island, besides remnants of Black Hawk's following of men, women, and children. About three hundred cases of the disease developed and fifty proved fatal. To avoid further contagion the soldiers and the Indian war prisoners were placed in small encampments on the Iowa side of the river. By September the disease was checked and the Indians were summoned to appear for the negotiating of a treaty. On September 21, 1832, a treaty was signed with the Sauk and Foxes, providing a reservation for them on the Iowa River, and turning over about 600,000 acres of land in Iowa to the United States. After a trip to Washington and Fortress Monroe where he was imprisoned for a short time, the old chief, Black Hawk, was brought back to Fort Armstrong, where in a formal and impressive way he was paroled to Keokuk on August 2, 1833. He died on his farm in Iowa in October, 1838.

In 1825 the Secretary of War had informed the Commissioner of the General Land Office that Rock Island was necessary for military purposes, and directed that it be reserved from sale. These instructions were renewed in 1835. In the same year Congress authorized two examinations of various sites for a proposed western armory, one by Commissioners William McRee, G. W. Talcott, and Roswell Lee and the other by Major J. Smith, United States Engineers.

A flood of settlers began pouring into the northern Illinois country after the removal of the Indians. Towns of considerable size sprang up on both sides of the river near Rock Island, Stephenson (1835)—later called Rock Island—on the Illinois side, and Davenport (1836) on

the Iowa side of the river.

The island was abandoned as a fort on May 4, 1836, and was then used as the headquarters of the Indian agent, General Joseph M. Street, from 1836 to 1838, when the agency was transferred to the Sauk and Fox reservation in Iowa. Colonel George Davenport served as local Indian agent until 1840.

In 1838 the government decided to establish an armory in the West and sent Captain William H. Bell to make a selection among the various sites proposed by the previous commissions. Captain Bell reported favorably on locating the armory on Rock Island. His main argument in its favor was the fact that buildings were already available and more could be rented in the nearby towns of Stephenson and Davenport if needed. The presence of about a thousand persons living in the two towns would assure a supply of workmen. Good landings on the river at both towns and on the island, the productiveness, health and beauty of the country, and the availability of both water power and coal were other advantages urged.

In 1840 the government established its armory in the old buildings of the fort and maintained the same until 1845. This was evidently intended to be only a temporary solution of the problem, for in 1841 Congress passed an act authorizing a thorough examination of the whole western country "for the purpose of selecting a suitable site on the western waters for the establishment of a national armory." In its report the military commission could not make up its mind in regard to recommending any one place above the others. As a result Congress took no decisive action at this time, but:

> The subject was not forgotten. Debates in Congress when bills

were introduced for the sale of the island, and letters and reports from the War Department . . . when efforts were made by various parties to get possession of the island, recommended in the strongest terms that the island should under no circumstances be relinquished by the War Department, because it would eventually be required by the Government as a site for a great armory and arsenal for the Mississippi Valley.[4]

Efforts of private individuals to gain a foothold on the island began in 1838, and these caused more or less trouble to the government until the last of them was removed in 1863.

When Congress failed to take any action in regard to erecting a new armory in the West, public interest in the project also declined. It was an era of speculation in public lands, and some of the less public spirited citizens of this and other parts of the country fastened greedy eyes on the 900 acres of beautiful woodland lying like a great park between the two growing cities. Those who were more interested in the public good hoped that at some time in the near future the government might again revive the project of an armory, or in case that should not be the outcome, they hoped that the government would at least set aside the island and its old fort, surrounded by the graves of hundreds of brave soldiers who had died there in their country's service, as a national monument.

In 1853 a railroad company, assuming that it could rely on an old law which would enable it to have some of the land condemned in the interests of public service, laid tracks across the lower end of the island and began the erection of bridges and embankments. Though the War Department endeavored to halt this

[4] D. W. Flagler, *A History of the Rock Island Arsenal* (Washington, 1877), 35. A considerable number of these letters and reports are quoted in full by Major Flagler in his history. See pp. 36-52.

movement, it was overruled by a decree handed down by Judge John McLean of the United States Supreme Court. The success of the railroad company encouraged others to try to pre-empt valuable parts of the island. In spite of repeated warnings to leave the island, various interests continued to encroach upon it and at the height of the struggle for possession—about 1854—an inventory made by the government custodian showed that the following unauthorized private property had been erected on the island up to that date: two dams, constructed out of materials taken from the island, two saw mills, one sash and blind factory, one two-story factory, two shingle shops, two dry houses, one office, two lumber yards, one steam planing mill, one grist mill, two stables, twelve dwelling houses, a few other small buildings, six construction shanties, grading and quarrying, and an almost total destruction of the original growth timber.

The trespassers all seemed to have powerful friends on important committees in Congress, and whenever confronted by the authority of the War Department they managed to escape eviction by one means or another. However, Uncle Sam often seems to be too easy a mark for the schemers within his household, and by the time he was ready to build his arsenal he had to pay out the sum of $237,492.20 to get rid of his unwelcome guests by satisfying their numerous claims.

At least twice—in 1850 and 1854—lobbyists in Washington almost succeeded in securing government action towards placing the island on sale with the rest of the public lands, but on each occasion the plotters were foiled and their efforts proved fruitless.

The old grey fort stood empty of occupants and un-

*Courtesy Rock Island Arsenal*

CONFEDERATE CEMETERY, ROCK ISLAND

changed from the time of the removal of the arms depot in 1845, to 1855. A government custodian living in a house on the island, was in charge of the historic structure. Then on Sunday, October 7, 1855, while the custodian was absent in Rock Island, fire broke out and destroyed most of the buildings of the old fort, two of the blockhouses alone remaining undamaged. The custodian then urged the Quartermaster General to try to persuade the War Department to have a company of infantry stationed on the island in order to control the ever-growing horde of squatters, who were now erecting houses on every available vacant plot and cutting the second growth timber everywhere. The idea seemed to be favorably received, and it looked for a while as if the government might make the island a recruiting rendezvous, but time slipped around and nothing was done. Two more abortive attempts were made (in 1858 and 1859) to force the island into the Public Lands Department, but public sentiment was so strong against any such move that the efforts were killed almost at their inception.

The rumblings of the coming Civil War were now heard throughout the land. Most men still believed, however, that the conflict would be averted. But when Virginia seceded, and the arsenal at Harper's Ferry was taken by the southern government, many a northern statesman remembered that Jefferson Davis had advocated the location of one of the eastern arsenals at Rock Island, Illinois, and regretted that his advice had not been followed.

On March 24, 1861, a joint resolution of the Iowa Senate and House called on all the legislators of that state to use their utmost exertion to procure the es-

tablishment, at the earliest possible time, by the government of the United States, of an arsenal and armory on the island of Rock Island. The officers of the State of Illinois addressed a letter to the Secretary of War urging the location of an armory upon Rock Island. These petitions were supplemented by appeals prepared by committees of leading citizens of the cities of Rock Island, Moline and Davenport.

A bill was introduced in the Thirty-seventh Congress to establish at Rock Island an armory and arsenal. It reached its third reading, but the hand of politics halted it. Other localities in the West also desired to have the arsenal and Congress had to compromise by dividing the "plum" into three parts. On July 11, 1862, a bill was passed providing for the establishment of three small arsenals, one at Columbus, Ohio, one at Indianapolis, Indiana, and one on Rock Island.

On May 6, 1863 a committee of officers, consisting of Majors F. D. Callender and C. P. Kingsbury, and Captain T. J. Treadwell was appointed to select sites on the island for the arsenal buildings and to determine upon the materials to be used in construction, etc. The committee selected the lower end of the island, near where the fort once stood, as the site of the principal storehouse, and recommended that its front should be on the prolongation of a line drawn from the southwest corner of a wooden building—one of the remaining blockhouses of the old fort—and that it should be placed at a point on this line 300 feet distant from the wooden building. Two sites for a magazine were suggested.

Major C. P. Kingsbury was commissioned, July 27, 1863, to assume the duties of constructing the build-

ings recommended by the above committee and to command the arsenal. In a few days Major Kingsbury made his arrangements to move, and was soon at his new post of duty. When he arrived at Davenport, Iowa, he found there much of the excitement and activity of a military center. This city had been selected as one of the places where the troops raised in Iowa were gathered and drilled for service. There were five military camps on the bluffs overlooking the island and thirteen regiments of infantry and cavalry were mustered in, equipped and drilled here during the course of the war. On the same bluffs there was at this time also a special military stockade in which were kept the 278 Sioux warriors, together with some squaws and children, who had been captured after the Sioux massacre in Minnesota, and many of whom had been condemned to death.

When Major Kingsbury visited the island to begin the work of building an arsenal, he discovered a state of affairs which he had not anticipated. There, deep in the central part of the island, were hundreds of soldiers and workmen, busily engaged in building a military prison. In July, the same month and year in which Major Kingsbury had been appointed as commandant, the War Department had suddenly decided to use the island for a prison for Confederate soldiers as well as for an arsenal. Captain Charles A. Reynolds, assistant quartermaster in the United States Army, had charge of the construction of the prison. He had selected that portion of the island where are now located the commandant's house, the pumping station and the older shop buildings of the arsenal. The prisoners' barracks were placed on the north side of the island. About twelve acres of ground had been surrounded by a stock-

ade twelve feet high with guard walks and shelters around the upper part. Within the rectangle there were 14 rows of one-story frame buildings, running east and west, with 6 buildings, 100 feet by 20 feet in size, in each row. Against either side wall of these barracks were rows of double-decked bunks for sleeping. A kitchen occupied one end of each building, which could accommodate 120 persons. A ditch some distance from the outside fence was the dead line, beyond which no prisoner was allowed to go. One old Union soldier was in charge of each barrack, and the stockade was always manned by watchful sentinels.

The first prisoners, taken at the Battle of Lookout Mountain, arrived on December 3, 1863; and they kept coming until there were about 10,000 men confined at one time. Prisoners were exchanged as often as possible, and men from the border states who had been drafted into the Confederate Army, were given the privilege of gaining their liberty by enlisting in the Union Army for service in the campaign against the Indians.

The winter of 1863-1864 was one of the severest this part of the country had experienced for many decades. Zero weather prevailed for weeks at a time, and, in spite of the abundance of fuel and extra supplies of blankets, many of the southerners were far from comfortable. To add to their unhappiness an epidemic of smallpox broke out, and though hospitals were erected for their care ouside of the prison walls, many died from the dread disease, then not yet so well understood and under control as at present.

To provide access to the mainland, the city of Rock Island at its own expense, erected a wooden wagon

*Courtesy Rock Island Arsenal*

One of the Ten Shops Planned by General Rodman,
Commandant Rock Island Arsenal, 1865-1871

bridge, which was afterwards purchased by the government.

While all the excitement was going on in the prison area, Major Kingsbury was busy on the lower end of the island trying to get the arsenal plans translated into buildings of stone. On September 1, 1863, ground was broken for the first arsenal building, now commonly known as the "clock tower building," and officially called "Storehouse A" at that time. It was located, as stated above, with reference to one of the remaining blockhouses of the old fort, and lumber sawed from the logs of this blockhouse was used to make the window frames in the basement of the new building, thus incorporating the old with the new historic era.

It was not until April, 1864 that the cornerstone of the building could be laid, because no stone was delivered until that time. Major Kingsbury encountered all manner of hindrances in putting his plans into execution. The United States currency was depreciating so fast that the prices of materials and labor went up by leaps and bounds. Laborers and mechanics were hard to get at any price. Strikes occurred on the railroads and steamboats bringing materials to the island; and these strikes were responsible for the inception of the idea of building a canal from Hennepin on the Illinois River to the mouth of the Rock River, to provide transportation from Lake Michigan independent of the railroads. The first meeting in favor of this project was held on January 19, 1864 in Davenport, Iowa, and the canal was finally completed in 1907, though coal was hauled over it as early as 1895 to the mouth of the Rock River. It reduced the water distance to Chicago from 610 to 190 miles, and cost $7,224,408.77.

This is said to have been the first canal built entirely by the United States.

The War Department was not satisfied with the idea of having only a small arsenal at Rock Island, and when General A. B. Dyer became Chief of Ordnance he ordered the building operations suspended pending the preparation of new plans which were to be made with the intention of putting up one of the finest and most extensive arsenals in the world on Rock Island, and which reached their fruition under Major Kingsbury's successor, General Thomas J. Rodman.

Beginning in April, 1864, a detachment of soldiers was stationed at the arsenal property to guard it. This was especially necessary as Major Kingsbury had to be away a great deal while distributing and receiving arms and accouterments for the volunteer troops of Iowa and Wisconsin. The war ended before the arsenal building was finished, but all the frame buildings used for prison purposes up to that time were now turned over to the arsenal and served to store the vast quantities of war supplies which were turned in at the close of the conflict.

In two well-kept national cemeteries on the island are the graves of 1,961 Confederate soldiers and more than 400 Union soldiers, which remind visitors of the terrible days of our Civil War.

General Rodman, the inventor of the famous Rodman gun, and one of the most gifted men in the army, was selected to succeed Major Kingsbury. He arrived on August 3, 1865, and after a nine day examination and study of the island he went back to New York City to discuss a more adequate plan for the development of the arsenal, with the Chief of Ordnance.

*Courtesy Rock Island Arsenal*

SHOP "M," ROCK ISLAND ARSENAL

During this conference the present arsenal may be said to have been born. On returning to his post General Rodman spent the time until February, 1866 in making a map of the island with plans for the great block of ten stone shops, ten storehouses, officers' quarters, magazines, laboratories, connecting railways, roadways, main avenue, water power plant, new railroad bridges, moving of the railroad, etc., all of which were later made realities (with the exception of some of the storehouses, which for various reasons have never been built). Each of the stone shops consists of two parallel wings, 60 by 300 feet, 90 feet apart and connected in front by a building 60 feet by 90 feet, all with three stories and basement except the center shop in each row which is only one story in height and has a basement. The walls of all the buildings are of stone three feet thick at the bottom. The floors are supported on masonry piers and iron columns. Roofs are of slate supported on wrought iron frames, and all peak covers, flashings, valleys, gutters and downspouts are of heavy sheet copper. The buildings were designed to last for centuries and probably will.

Before building operations on the new shops began, the first building on the lower end of the island was completed, though not until 1867. It is now used as the headquarters of the engineer corps working on the improved nine-foot channel of the Mississippi.

The new buildings, erected on the central part of the island, where the prison had been located, were not fully completed until 1893, due in part to lack of interest on the part of Congress, which often failed to make the necessary appropriations to continue the work. The total cost was probably about $6,500,000.

Only $211,000 had up to this time been appropriated for furnishing the buildings with machinery. The approach of the Spanish-American War was necessary to arouse Congress to make the required expenditures to put the building into condition for service.

General Rodman lived long enough to carry through the great task of persuading the railroad company to move its tracks to a more suitable location on the island and to consent to help build a new million dollar iron bridge in place of the old wooden structure. He also began the development of the water power, a most difficult undertaking, owing to an agreement which made it necessary to supply power to the company that had built the dam for industrial purposes, in return for the relinquishment of its property rights in the dam. The dam had to be reconstructed so that it would supply power at points about a mile apart, for that was before the use of electric generators, and the power had to be generated where it was to be used. Up to the time of his death, June 7, 1871, a total of $440,506.35 had been spent on the water power development; and it cost as much more before the wheels were able to deliver power to the arsenal shops.

Major D. W. Flagler, who was appointed to command the arsenal following the death of General Rodman, carried on the great building project with marked success during the fifteen years of his service. Under his administration eighteen buildings large and small were completed, also the water power dam, wingdam, power house, and mechanical transmission line, a sewer system, water mains, water tower and tank, pumping station, fire fighting equipment and housing, bridges, arsenal railroad and sidings, and the draining of a

fifty-acre swamp. The first shop was put into operation in 1873, and for years the only manufacturing done was that of fabricating wood and metal parts for use in the construction of buildings, and for making shop fixtures and machinery. The first stores made for the Army were leather goods—harness, saddles, etc.—and accouterments were repaired. Two hundred and eighty-eight thousand pounds of old horseshoes, with all damaged arms, left over from the Civil War, were converted into iron columns and trusses to be used in the construction of buildings. From 1871 to 1875 five smaller arsenals were closed and the stores concentrated at Rock Island. On November 30, 1872, the great new railroad bridge was completed and opened to the public. In 1897 this bridge was replaced with a heavier and wider structure, which still serves its purpose.

When Major Flagler was relieved in 1886, the arsenal had been brought up to a point where its manufacturing facilities were adequate for the needs of the country only while at peace.

Under Colonel Thomas G. Baylor, who succeeded Major Flagler, Congress made hardly any appropriations for the continuation of the building program, and hardly enough to keep in repair what had been constructed. Being incapacitated for service in 1889, Colonel Baylor was then relieved and Colonel James W. Whittemore carried on the work until 1891. Owing to lack of appropriations no new work could be undertaken. However, in 1890 one change was made—a small electric generator was installed, and the shops were lighted with electricity. In 1891 two more arsenals, located elsewhere, were combined with Rock Island. General A. R. Buffington, who followed as the next

commandant, while not able to expand the institution on account of lack of public interest in the work, spent five years in building up its inner strength and putting it into the best possible shape for any emergency that might arise. Some of the shops were still without furnishings or machinery. The hospital was housed in a drafty, frame building, formerly a part of the Confederate prison. Congress did not even provide a telephone system for the arsenal buildings. Such was the situation in 1897, when Colonel Buffington was succeeded by Captain S. E. Blunt.

Up to this time about $9,000,000 had been expended on the plant, the landscape development, the various bridges, and the maintenance of the whole. Yet only one shop and part of another were fully fitted out for production. When the Spanish-American War broke out, telegrams from Washington began to pour into the Commandant's office asking for equipment of all sorts in such enormous quantities that it could not possibly have been supplied unless forty-six manufacturing firms in the Tri-Cities and elsewhere had lent their aid. The experience aroused Congress, and tardy appropriations were made to equip the shops more fully and to install automatic machinery. Electric power generators were installed in 1901, and the shops were heated in winter for the first time; a good hospital building was erected in 1907, together with some other long-needed structures. When Colonel Blunt was succeeded by Lieutenant Colonel F. E. Hobbs in 1907, interest had again begun to wane, and during the next four years only one building was provided for; and no provision was made for keeping the machinery up-to-date. The training schools for soldier-craftsmen, and a

*Courtesy Rock Island Arsenal*

CLOCK TOWER BUILDING, ROCK ISLAND ARSENAL, 1919

chemical laboratory were begun during this period.

When Lieutenant Colonel G. W. Burr assumed charge of the arsenal in 1911, the Taylor system of shop management was introduced in modified form, also many safety devices and important improvements in the relations between the workmen and the shop managers. During the six years of Colonel Burr's service hardly any appropriations were made for new buildings until the very end, when America's entrance into the World War made it absolutely necessary to make up for lost time. The calling out of the National Guard in the 1916 troubles with Mexico started the wheels turning again at full capacity. Apprentice courses for young men still in school were introduced. When war was declared against Germany in 1917 there began the greatest construction project ever witnessed on the island. Thirty-three new buildings were authorized, a new proving ground, embracing 12,500 acres, near Savanna, Illinois, sixty miles from Rock Island, was provided and equipped at a cost of $1,500,000. The monthly disbursements reached a total of $3,000,000. Enlargements, improvements and new construction continued throughout the war, much of it too late to be of service in that great emergency.

In 1918 Colonel L. T. Hillman succeeded Colonel Burr. Now, for the first time all the original shops and two new ones were fully equipped with machinery. The number of employees had risen to 13,400 at the time of the signing of the armistice, and 200 outside firms supplied various parts of needed military equipment.

Limited space forbids telling more of the romantic story of the arsenal's development. Colonel H. B. Jor-

dan succeeded Colonel Hillman in 1919, and was succeeded in turn by Colonel D. M. King in 1921. At his death in 1932, Colonel H. W. Schull took up the work, and after him came Colonel A. G. Gillespie, 1934 to 1938, and in command at present is Colonel Norman Ramsey. These latter commandants have been mostly occupied, except the last, in "tapering off" the activities of the World War period, in continuing the excellent management, in storing and reconditioning the vast quantities of war material on hand, and in preparing the great plant for whatever emergency may arise. At this writing greatly increased activity again prevails at the arsenal, more than 5,000 men and women being employed in the shops and offices. The property is valued at over $24,000,000. There are 110 buildings large and small, together with the best of equipment of all sorts, not counting the buildings at the Savanna proving ground. Paved roads on the island add up to 14.25 miles, and railroad trackage amounts to 15.3 miles, water mains to 12.8 miles and sewers to 7.6 miles. Aside from wages and raw material costs, the United States has spent on this great institution about $38,000,000, and it, no doubt, has here one of the finest arsenals in the world.

# NOTES ON ROCK RIVER NAVIGATION*

BY GUSTAV E. LARSON

THE Riviere de la Roche as it appeared on early maps, or the We-ro-sha-na-gra as it was called by the Winnebago Indians, enabled the French fur traders, trappers, and hunters to penetrate far into the Illinois Country where they bartered with the Indians for beaver, fox, lynx, deer, skunk, otter, and wolf skins. For several years after Illinois was admitted into the Union, the Rock River remained an important artery in the inter-connecting system of waterways that carried the hunters and trappers into fur trading areas, center of which was located at the present site of Portage, Wisconsin. The fur traders could bring their canoe loads of furs up the Rock River and by portages reach the Wisconsin River, proceed down the Wisconsin, the Mississippi, and return up the Rock River. As a link in this useful system of watercourses, the Rock River long remained an important route of travel to the hunters, trappers, and traders of the Northwest.[1]

* The historical data herein presented were collected by the writer while in the employ of the United States Engineer Office at Rock Island, Illinois as a part of information used in connection with the work of that office. Permission was received to utilize the original notes for preparation of this paper after they had served their official purpose for the office. The article was written on the writer's own time while doing graduate work at the University of Minnesota during January, 1940.

[1] James D. Butler, "Tay-Cho-Pe-Rah—The Four Lake Country—First White Foot-prints There," *Report and Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, Vol. 10 (Madison, 1888), 66; Deette Rolfe, *The Rock River Country of Northern Illinois* (Urbana, 1929), 20, 21; Edward L. Burchard, "Early Trails and Tides of Travel in the Lead Mine and Blackhawk Country," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. 17, no. 4 (Jan., 1925), 573.

The increasing demand for lead shot occasioned by the rapid development of the fur trade and the War of 1812 resulted in a noticeable increase in lead mines and furnaces in the vicinity of Galena, Illinois, and southwestern Wisconsin. Although large numbers of Indians were deserting the hunt to dig for lead ore, no great increase in lead ore production occurred until the whites moved northward into the mineral area and introduced more efficient methods of mining. In 1825 there were approximately one hundred white miners in and around Galena, Illinois. By 1829 the white miners numbered in the thousands, and lead production rose from a total of 400,000 pounds in 1810 to over 13,000,000 pounds in 1829. By 1844 over 192,000,000 pounds of lead had been produced in the Galena and Wisconsin lead area.[2]

The lumber industry and the expansion of mining facilities with its resulting increase in lead ore production were the more important factors contributing to the early development of keel and flatboat traffic on the lower Rock River. Mine owners along the upper Pecatonica and Sugar rivers shipped much of their lead by flatboat to St. Louis, while lumber interests engaged in cutting the large tracts of timber along the east side of the Pecatonica rafted logs downstream to Illinois cities where it was in great demand for rails and building purposes. One individual, in 1833, shipped nine flatboats containing 1,200,000 pounds of lead down

[2] Frederick J. Turner, "The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, 9 ser., XI-XII (Baltimore, 1891), 67; B. H. Schockel, "Settlement and Development of the Lead and Zinc Mining Region of the Driftless Area with Special Emphasis upon Jo Daviess County, Illinois," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 4, no. 2 (Sept., 1917), 175, 178. Mr. Schockel points out that probably as early as 1852 agricultural products exceeded the value of the lead and zinc produced in the vicinity of Galena, Illinois and that the more profitable agriculture was one of the factors that brought the mining industry to a close. See also William J. Petersen, "The Lead Traffic on the Upper Mississippi, 1823-1848," *Miss. Val. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. 17, no. 1 (June, 1930), 74-77.

Rock River Valley and Vicinity

the Pecatonica, Rock, and Mississippi rivers to St. Louis. "Peckatolika" flatboats usually carried from 70,000 to 125,000 pounds each.[3]

Early accounts of the Rock River by hunters, traders, explorers, by writers of immigrant guidebooks, and by pioneer newspaper editors, in addition to creating an awareness among Illinois settlers of the advantages of settlement in the Rock River Valley, also indicated the lengths to which it was believed that the Rock River could be navigated. One of the earlier estimates of the navigable length of the Rock River was made by Major S. H. Long, United States Topographical Engineer, who wrote while voyaging up the Mississippi River in a six-oared skiff in the year 1817: "Rock River in high water is navigable about three hundred miles to what are called the Four Lakes." Major Long's records indicated that the Rock River could be navigated by boats of from ten to fifteen tons burden during high water. An early guidebook pictured the "beautiful and boatable" Rock River as navigable for 240 miles above its mouth while Grigg and Eliot, publishers of the book *Illinois in 1837*, placed the head of navigation upwards of two hundred miles from the mouth and pointed out that the Rock River could be navigated by steamboat to Winnebago City (present site of Rockford) in Winne-

[3] Ellis Baker Usher, *Wisconsin, 1848-1913* (New York, 1914), II: 306; *Illinois in 1837, A Sketch*, pub. by Grigg and Eliot (Philadelphia, 1837), 31; *Milwaukee Advertiser*, June 10, 1837; Moses M. Strong, *History of Wisconsin Territory* (Madison, 1885), 4; *Report from the Secretary of War, 1840, U. S. Senate Doc.* no. 318, 26 Cong., 1 sess. In a letter dated June 24, 1830 from John Dixon to the editor of the *Miner's Journal* at Galena, Mr. Dixon wrote: "The first flatboat built on the Peckatolica [Pecatonica] passed here [Dixon, Ill.] this day, bound to St. Louis with one thousand pigs of lead (70,000 lbs.)." These were shipped by Colonel William S. Hamilton. See Moses M. Strong, *History of Wisconsin Territory* (Madison, 1885), 596. For location of lead diggings on the upper Pecatonica and Sugar rivers see R. W. Chandler's map of the United States lead mines on the Upper Mississippi (Cincinnati, 1829) in *Wis. Hist. Col.*, Vol. XI: 400.

bago County, Illinois. The *Milwaukee Advertiser* of June 10, 1837, reflecting a growing community's interest in the development of a canal to the Rock River that would open the markets of the Mississippi Valley to Milwaukee, stated: (For location of proposed canal see map p. 342).

> Rock River in all its lower section is navigable for steamboats of a respectable class, except in extreme low water, there are at long intervals a few rapids which require some improvements to afford easy navigation.

The cost of a canal from Milwaukee to the Rock River was expected to be partly realized by the donation by the federal government of alternate sections of land within a strip of land five miles wide along the line of the canal's location. In addition to the proposed canal, which was to be sixty-one miles long and cost approximately one million dollars, Milwaukee citizens were desirous of establishing a line of communication between the Rock River and Lake Winnebago.[4]

All Wisconsin settlements did not, however, join Milwaukee in their effort to secure a canal, and some of them voiced their opposition to a navigation project through critical newspaper editorials. Comments appearing in the *Madison Argus* in December, 1844 ridiculed any serious attempt to build a canal:

> A canal is a fine affair when really needed... but what is there at Rock River? Neither an ocean nor a lake nor even a navigable river. There are neither steamboats nor flatboats running up Rock river anywhere in the neighborhood of the proposed termination of the canal, and the river will not admit of this kind of navigation to any advantage.

[4] Butler, *Rep. and Col. Wis. Hist. Soc.*, 1888, p. 66; "James's Account of S. H. Long's Expedition," Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1905), XVI: 110; Timothy Flint, *Geography and History of the Western States* (Cincinnati, 1828), II: 121, 135; Grigg and Eliot, eds., *Illinois in 1837*, 31, 112; I. A. Lapham, *Documentary History of the Milwaukee and Rock River Canal* (Milwaukee, 1840), 16, 19; *Rep. Sec. of War, 1840, U. S. Sen. Doc.* no. 318, 26 Cong., 1 sess.

Flat Boat of the Type Used on the Rock River

There was at this time, however, considerably more traffic on both the upper and lower Rock River than was indicated by the *Argus*. During the thirties and forties, in addition to the existing lead and lumber traffic, surplus produce was occasionally shipped by the farmers of Bureau, Whiteside, and surrounding counties to St. Louis and New Orleans, while river traffic in the vicinity of Beloit and Watertown, Wisconsin consisted of scows and lumberboats and logs rafted from the Bark River area to southern Wisconsin and Illinois cities. Travelers, also, frequently made their way to Rock Island and other Mississippi towns in small dugouts, skiffs, and canoes.[5]

Probably the first steamboat to make its appearance on the Rock River was the *Winnebago* which attempted, in 1831, to carry supplies to a point two miles above Prophetstown, Illinois. When the steamboat could not get by the lower rapids that were located about three and a half miles above the mouth, a keelboat of eighty tons was secured and the supplies were transferred to it and carried directly above Prophetstown. The following year supplies were boated upstream to Dixon, Illinois, where soldiers fighting in the Black Hawk War were temporarily stationed. Four years later (1836), Daniel Smith Harris in his steamer, the *Frontier*, startled the Rock River settlers by pushing up to Dixon's Ferry, where he was welcomed and

[5] *The Voters and Tax Payers of Bureau County, Illinois*, pub. by H. F. Kett (Chicago, 1877), 103; *Rep. Sec. of War, 1840, U. S. Sen. Doc.*, no. 318, 26 Cong., 1 sess.; Charles L. Fifield, "History of Janesville, Wisconsin," in W. F. Brown, *Rock County, Wisconsin* (Madison, n.d.), II: 536; *History of Rock County*, ed. by Orrin Guernsey and J. F. Willard (Janesville, 1856), 176, 177; William M. Doty, *History of Rock County* (Janesville, 1856), 51. Over $50,000 was expended on the Milwaukee and Rock River Canal, and nearly 140,000 acres of land were granted by the federal government to aid in raising funds for construction. The canal was never completed. See John G. Gregory, *History of Milwaukee, Wisconsin* (Chicago, 1931), I: 296.

praised by river enthusiasts. People along the way believed that Harris had demonstrated the practicability of navigating the Rock by steam and had also provided the future outlet for the surplus products of the Rock River Valley. The settlers, at what is now Sterling, towed the *Frontier* to a landing point with their ox teams and gave Captain Harris a half interest in the new town in payment for the goods received, and named the town Harrisburgh in his honor. The settlers of Harrisburgh and Chatham, which later consolidated and became the city of Sterling, expected their future markets to be at St. Louis, New Orleans, and other river towns. In anticipation of the great river traffic to come, the enthusiastic city fathers laid out the streets running towards the river one hundred feet wide so that the future steamboat traffic might be taken care of adequately. The streets paralleling the river were considered less important and were made much narrower.[6]

The *Frontier* was soon followed by the *Gypsy*, a small sternwheel boat about one hundred feet long and thirty feet wide, which made its way up the Rock in April, 1838, loaded with bacon, flour, furniture, merchandise, and a few passengers who had been picked up along the way after leaving St. Louis. Other boats navigating this river in 1838 were the *Potosi*, the *St. Louis Oak*, and the *Lighter*. These were all sidewheelers, except the *Lighter* which was a sternwheeler and was jokingly called "Wet-backs." In 1841 a steamboat was

[6] S. W. McMaster, *Sixty Years on the Upper Mississippi* (Rock Island, 1893), 41, 42, 45; John Reynolds, *My Own Times* (Belleville, Ill., 1855), 360; William J. Petersen, "Captains and Cargoes of Early Upper Mississippi Steamboats," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Vol. 13, no. 3 (March, 1930), 225, 226; *History of Whiteside County, Illinois*, ed. by Charles Bent (Morrison, Ill., 1877), II: 415.

built at Aztalan, Wisconsin, but as a result of uncertain navigation possibilities the boat made its way to the deeper waters of the Mississippi never to return.[7]

Local champions of the improvement of the Rock River for steamboat navigation received an encouraging stimulant when on July 4, 1844, a regular Mississippi steamboat one hundred and thirty feet long arrived at Janesville, Wisconsin and took on board the major portion of its inhabitants for an excursion to Jefferson, Wisconsin. The excursionists on arriving at Fort Atkinson encountered some difficulties with the bridge operators who refused to remove a part of the obstructing bridge to permit the passage of the boat. When the irate passengers threatened to riot, a portion of the bridge was removed, and the steamboat moved upstream to Jefferson. The episode resulted in a few sharp verbal exchanges between the citizens of Janesville and those of Fort Atkinson concerning the navigable status of the Rock River. After the steamboat returned to Janesville, it made a few other excursions on the upper Rock River, and then returned to the Mississippi. Another boat, the *Lightener Keel*, arrived during this high water year on July 29, 1844 at Grand Detour, Illinois with a load of iron and steel that had been transported from St. Louis at the rate of fifty cents per hundred pounds.[8]

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[7] *The History of Ogle County, Illinois*, pub. by H. F. Kett (Chicago, 1878), 483; *History of Lee County*, pub. by H. H. Hill and Co. (Chicago, 1881), 78; "Rock River Navigation," *Eighth Annual Report, Ill. Division of Waterways* (Springfield, 1925), 40. The *Gypsy* had an open deck and several staterooms. Henry L. Kiner, *History of Henry County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1910), I: 240; I. A. Lapham, in his book *A Geographical and Topographical Description of Wisconsin* published at Milwaukee in 1844, mentioned that steamboats occasionally arrived at Aztalan, in Jefferson County, Wisconsin, but stated that such traffic was unimportant. See p. 13.

[8] Brown, *Rock County, Wisconsin*, II: 536, 537; "Rock River Navigation," *Eighth Ann. Rep., Ill. Div. of Waterways*, 42. The *Bloomington Herald* (Muscatine, Iowa), Aug. 2, 1844, contained the following account of a steamboat arrival at Madison, Wis.

Despite the rapid expansion of railroad lines after 1853 crude boats, schooners, and steamboats continued to navigate the Rock River. With the construction of obstructing dams and bridges, however, navigation after 1850 became more restricted to reaches of the river between existing obstructions, and boats necessarily limited their operations to such areas. At Janesville, the *Lotus*, a small boat seventy-five feet long, with an upright boiler and a double deck, the *Bower City Belle*, the *Columbus*, and the *Augusta* carried passengers on moonlight excursions and transported small shipments of merchandise for several years after 1860. Beginning possibly before 1853 and continuing at least into the Civil War, the *Blanche Douglas* and the *General Scott* carried wheat, corn, and oats from Oregon to the mills at Rockford. Other steamboats operating after 1865 and before 1900, and engaged primarily in the excursion trade and the hauling of produce, were the *Lottie Lee;* the *Queen;* the *Arrow*, a small boat 65 feet long with a single deck and two screw propellers; the *May Lee*, 65 feet long, 14 foot beam; the *Transit*, a sidewheeler; and the *City of Rockford*, a sternwheeler 141 feet long, 28 feet wide, and 3 foot draught. The *City of Rockford*, which was rechristened the *Illinois* in 1919 when purchased by the Rockford Excursion and Amusement Company, continued to operate as a pleasure boat transporting as many as 500 passengers on excursion trips upstream to Latham until 1924 when it was destroyed by fire.

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from the Lower Rock River: "In a late northern exchange, we see it states that the steamer *Lighter* has ascended Rock River to the mo[u]th of the Pekatonica and that stream to Mad[i]son, the seat of Government of Wisconsin a distance of 300 miles from the mouth." The Pecatonica does not reach Madison. It is possible that the steamer went up the Yahara to Madison as 1844 was a high water year.

Although there were few attempts to navigate any of the larger Rock River tributaries by steam after 1870 there was as late as 1882 a small steamboat called the *Success* which made semi-weekly trips on the Pecatonica between Argyle and Wayne, Wisconsin. In order to operate the small boat, which was fifty feet long and fourteen feet wide, it was necessary for the owners to obtain permission for its operation from the adjacent landowners. Some of the farmers had extended their fences across the stream so that it was necessary to open and close the gates to let the boat through.[9]

After the completion of the Fond du Lac railway in 1854 to Chester at the head of Horicon Lake, a distance of eighteen miles, the rapidly growing lumber industries in the vicinity of Wolf River shipped their logs by rail to Lake Horicon from where they were rafted over the Horicon dam to Janesville, Beloit, Rockford, and other downstream points. In 1855 an estimated 20,000,000 feet of lumber was rafted to Illinois cities along the Rock River. Local hardwood timber produced along the upper Rock River was in demand by the steamboats operating on Lake Horicon, the wood-burning furnaces of the new railways, and the growing iron industry. Horicon marsh had been transformed as the result of a dam placed at the lower marsh in 1854 into a lake on which the steamboating, rafting, and canoeing rivalled that of Lake Winnebago.[10]

[9] "Rock River Navigation," *Eighth Ann. Rep., Ill. Div. of Waterways* (Springfield, 1925), 37-43; *Janesville Gazette*, July 30, 1915; "Preliminary Examination of Pecatonica River from Argyle to Wayne, Lafayette County, Wisconsin," *Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers* (Washington, 1883), part 3, p. 1,593. In 1851 an individual who had constructed a schooner in the vicinity of the Kishwaukee River floated down the Rock to the Mississippi and cut all obstructing ferry ropes that delayed him. Although the master was prosecuted at several places he retained his freedom by arguing that the Rock River was a navigable stream and could not be legally obstructed. See Bent, ed., *History of Whiteside County*, 85-86.

[10] William F. Raney, "The Building of Wisconsin Railroads," *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*,

Traffic on the Yahara (formerly called Catfish) directly before and after the Civil War consisted chiefly of Indians who paddled their canoes from their reservations in the north through Lakes Mendota, Monona, Waubesa, Kegonsa and the connecting Yahara River to its junction with the Rock, then up the Rock to Lake Koshkonong where the Indians harvested their yearly supply of wild rice. The rapid settlement of the Koshkonong area and the failure of the rice fields brought this traffic to a close before 1870. After the appearance of small settlements about the lakes, steamboats appeared on the Four Lakes and engaged in carrying mail, passengers, vegetables, and lumber. A few of these earlier boats were still operating in 1900.[11]

The protection of the navigable status of the Rock River early became one of the aims of the territorial and state assemblies of Illinois and Wisconsin. All early acts relative to the granting of rights to construct bridges and dams contained provisions that suitable draws must be placed in bridges and locks of required width in dams, so that boats, barges, and other watercraft might easily pass. Chutes and slides in dams also had to be maintained for the passage of rafts, logs, and fish.[12]

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Vol. 19, no. 4 (June, 1936), 394, 395; Henry Clyde Hubbart, *The Older Middle West, 1840-1880* (New York, 1936), 93, 95; Joseph Schafer, *The Winnebago-Horicon Basin; A Type Study in Western History* (*Wisconsin Domesday Book*, IV, Madison, 1937), 7, 214, 215, 269, 270; *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, Vol. 18, no. 2 (Dec., 1934) 217.

[11] Daniel F. Sayre, "Early Life in Southern Wisconsin," *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, Vol. 3, no. 4 (June, 1920), 420, 421; *Madison, Dane County History and Guide* (Madison, 1877), 23, 176; interview with Frank Knoll of the *Wisconsin Journal* at Madison, Wisconsin on Oct. 28, 1938, and with Charles E. Brown, curator of the Wisconsin Historical Society Museum, on Oct. 27, 1938; *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, Vol. 1, no. 2 (Dec., 1917), 197, and no. 3 (March, 1918), 327.

[12] For laws recognizing the navigable status of the Rock River and involving obstruction by dams or bridges see: *Local Acts of the Legislature of Wisconsin* (Madison, 1838 and 1839); *Laws of the Territory of Wisconsin*, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1845, 1848; and *Laws of Wisconsin*, 1849, 1851. For Wisconsin Supreme Court reports declaring the

Upper Rock River Valley

As agitation increased for the development of an outlet for the surplus agricultural products of the valley, private, state, and federal agencies acted to secure improvement of the Rock River. The Wisconsin Internal Improvement Company, which was organized in 1835 for the purpose of cutting a canal from the Fox River to the Wisconsin River or from the Rock River to Lake Winnebago, was probably the earliest organized body interested in the development of canals and river improvements on the Rock River. Illinois soon followed the Wisconsin movement of 1835 by appropriating during 1838-1839 a total of $150,000 for the improvement of navigation. The action of Illinois encouraged the legislative assembly of Wisconsin to send a memorial to Congress during 1839 in which they confidently expressed their opinions of the possibility of improving the Rock River in Wisconsin at small expense:

> From the liberal appropriations made by the State of Illinois for the improvement of the navigation of this river to the line of our territory, it is believed by those acquainted with the obstructions above the line of that state that with a small expenditure the navigation might soon be rendered complete from its junction with the Mississippi to that point where it is contemplated to unite its waters by canal with those of Lake Michigan.[13]

The occasional appearance of steamboats on the Rock River stirred the farmers and the city people to action. At a meeting held at Rockford, Illinois on January 11, 1840 a group of Illinois citizens petitioned Congress, to no avail, for a grant of 150,000 acres of

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Rock River a navigable stream in Wisconsin, see *Newell* v. *Smith*, 15 Wis. 101; *Cobb* v. *Smith*, 16 Wis. 661; *Rottenberger et al* v. *Horicon Drainage District*, 136 Wis. 227-28; *State* v. *Carpenter*, 68 Wis. 165. See also *Laws of Illinois*, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1857.

[13] Lapham, *Description of Wisconsin*, 426; *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1904* (Springfield, 1904), 489, 490; Bent, ed., *History of Whiteside County*, 86; *Memorial of Legislative Assembly of Wisconsin*, *U. S. Sen. Doc.*, 26 Cong., 1 sess., VI, no. 292, p. 2.

land to aid in the improvement of navigation. Delegates to the convention went on record as favoring steamboat navigation to the termination point of the proposed Milwaukee–Rock River Canal.[14]

As the result of a federal survey made in 1839 with a view of improving the navigation of the Rock River from the Illinois line up to the termination point of the Rock River Canal, citizens of Milwaukee and other interested Wisconsin groups received temporary assurance that such improvements might be reasonably accomplished. Thomas J. Cram, captain of the United States Topographical Engineers, confidently placed the head of natural navigation at the confluence of the Doty and Rock rivers, a point eighteen miles from the southern tip of Lake Winnebago, and reported that a canal might be opened to Lake Winnebago so as to draw water from the lake as a reservoir through the canal and into the river. On concluding that the total cost of rendering the Rock River navigable from its mouth to the northern boundary of Illinois would be $178,250, Captain Cram expressed a fear that the precarious financial condition in which the country had been left as a result of the Panic of 1837 would retard the sale of state bonds and securities and thus delay the "wisely contemplated improvements."

The *Report* indicated that the extent to which the Rock River might be made navigable north of the Illinois line for steamers drawing two and one-half feet of water was 151 miles, and made it clear that the upper portion of the Rock River was then being navigated by lumberboats and scows up to the foot of

[14] *Memorial of Numerous Citizens of Illinois*, *U. S. Sen. Doc.*, 26 Cong., 1 sess., VII, no. 292, pp. 1-3.

Johnson's Rapids. In writing of the benefits that would be gained by the improvement of the Rock River, Captain Cram did not lack enthusiasm:

> The immediate benefits that would follow from the improvement of the navigation of Rock river . . . for the Territory of Wisconsin and State of Illinois . . . for the districts generally through which the river runs, are too well known to require comment. One who views any portion of this stream (excepting from the head of Winnebago marsh to Hustis's rapids, about twenty-two miles), from the very springs that supply its head-water branches to its confluence with the Mississippi is most forcibly and favorably impressed with its beauty of scenery, the unexcelled fertility of the great valley through which it meanders, the general salubrity of the climate and the rapid increase of its population. Many flourishing towns have already darted, as if by magic, into existence on the banks of Rock river; and in a very few years hence the whole valley will be so densely peopled, that the business up and down the stream would be proportionally great, provided suitable improvements of the rapids be made.
>
> The upper branches of Rock river wind through lands of the richest character; the timber lands on the east side of the river above Fort Atkinson, now afford large quantities of lumber and fence rails to the inhabitants of the southern part of the Territory and of the northern part of Illinois; and as soon as the transportation can be facilitated by improving the navigation, the lumber business will become of great importance.[15]

The desire to improve the upper reaches of the Pecatonica River and the lower portions of the Rock River resulted in the organization of navigation companies. In 1839 Pekatonica Navigation Company was organized for the purpose of improving the Pecatonica from Mineral Point, Wisconsin to the Illinois state line by the construction of a canal and slack water navigation project for a distance of thirty miles. Two years later, on February 27, 1841, the Rock River Navigation Company (also called Rock River and Mississippi Steam

[15] *Report, Sec. of War, 1840, U. S. Sen. Doc.* 318, 26 Cong., 1 sess.

Navigation Company) was incorporated to complete unfinished navigation improvements begun by the state at the lower rapids in Rock Island County, the upper rapids in Whiteside County, and at the rapids at Rockford, in Winnebago County. The corporation was also to remove all obstructions in the Rock River from its mouth to the northern boundary of Illinois by building dams, locks, canals, and creating slack water navigation. The directors of the Rock River Navigation Company, Daniel G. Gornsey, G. C. R. Mitchell, Sylvester Talcott, the treasurer Antoine Le Claire, and the secretary George Myers, never "made very much money by the navigation of Rock River."[16]

Failing to secure any effective state or federal action to improve the Rock River, the people of the several counties attempted to complete several navigation projects without government aid. Navigation enthusiasts from Stephenson, Henry, Winnebago and Rock Island counties assembled at a navigation convention at Sterling, Illinois on October 21, 1844 for the purpose of outlining a plan by which the major navigation obstructions might be eliminated and to consider the cutting of a steamboat channel through the rapids. The convention members proposed to procure an estimate of cost and then to petition the state legislature for the right to tax the counties for the improvements. A special law passed during the 1845 session of the Illinois legislature enabled the people of the several counties along the Rock River from Rock Island to the Wisconsin state line to vote for or against the assessment

[16] "Report of Chief of Engineers of the Territory," Lapham, *Milwaukee and Rock River Canal*, 102; Lapham, *Description of Wisconsin*, 47; *Laws of Illinois*, 1841, p. 141; Franc B. Wilkie, *Davenport Past and Present* (Davenport, 1858), 71; Grigg and Eliot, eds., *Illinois in 1837*, 102.

Rock River Steamboat

of a river improvement tax. The measure carried in all the counties, a tax was assessed, and work was eagerly commenced. Despite the enthusiasm of the promoters, work begun at Rockford, Sterling, and other downstream points was soon discontinued because of the huge expenses involved, and the remaining money was returned to the participating counties.[17]

With the rapid expansion of railroad lines in the ten year period, 1850-1860, agitation for navigation improvements on the Rock River temporarily subsided. While there had been but fifty-five miles of track in Illinois in 1850, ten years later there were railroads running all over the state—east, west, north, and south. In Wisconsin the Northwestern Railroad, construction of which was started in 1854, ran southwest from Fond du Lac some eighteen miles to Horicon Lake. By the close of 1859, the Chicago, St. Paul, and Fond du Lac Railway Company, as the result of the consolidation of smaller lines, could offer continuous rail service from Oshkosh to Janesville, Wisconsin where connections were made for Chicago. Towards the close of the Civil War, the Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company gave service from Chicago to Janesville, to Fond du Lac, Oshkosh, Appleton and Green Bay. With such excellent railroad facilities the farmers and manufacturers of the Rock River area would probably

[17] *Bloomington Herald* (Muscatine, Iowa), Oct. 18, 1844; *Laws of the State of Illinois*, 1845, pp. 236, 279. The frequency of calling conventions and the enthusiasm of the people of Winnebago, Ogle, and surrounding counties for the improvement of Rock River navigation is indicated in Kett, pub., *History of Ogle County, Illinois*, 483: "For many years the improvement of Rock River, so as to render it navigable, was an enterprise that enlisted a good deal of attention from the people, not only of Winnebago, but of all the counties along the banks. . . . In Winnebago County a river improvement fever would break out every once in a while, and spread its contagion through Ogle; meetings would be called, resolutions adopted, committees appointed, petitions drafted, signed and forwarded to Congress, and great plans inaugurated for this purpose."

have discontinued their agitation for waterway development for many years if it had not been for the Civil War and the resulting abuse in rail rates and the inability of the railroads to meet the demands of shippers.[18]

The unusual demand for agricultural and manufactured products resulting from the war forced rail rates sharply upward and created a new interest in the improvement of the Rock River. Farmers and manufacturers came firmly to believe that both a good railway system and an improved waterway would be necessary to ship the future products of the Rock River Valley to eastern, western, and southern markets, and joined with the lumber interests in the clamor for better transportation facilities and for lower rail rates. The inability of the railroads to transport the vast amounts of lumber shipped annually from such growing lumber centers as Neenah, Menasha, Oshkosh, and Fond du Lac on Lake Winnebago and the excessive rail rates charged, were the more evident reasons cited for the improvement of the Rock River.

With the view of supplementing existing railroad facilities by the improvement of the Rock River, the federal government as the result of an extensive survey made in 1866, reported that a continuous line of slack water navigation over three hundred and fifty miles in length might be completed from the Mississippi to Green Bay, Wisconsin by the construction of fifty-six lift and guard locks at a cost of $14,783,370. The total length of proposed improvements was 285 miles, of which 117½ miles were to be canal fed from

[18] Hubbart, *The Older Middle West, 1840-1880*, 93, 95; Fred Gerhard, *Illinois As It Is* (Chicago, 1857), 427, 428; William F. Raney, "The Building of Wisconsin Railroads," *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, Vol. 19, no. 4 (June, 1936), 394, 395.

Lake Horicon and the river. The remaining 167½ miles were to be slack water navigation.

Manufacturers, farmers, and lumber interests did not hesitate to make extravagant claims as to the immediate results of completing such improvements as proposed in the federal survey *Report* of 1867. Lumber interests were quite certain that if the proposed improvements were completed, the large timberless area in the Lower Rock and Mississippi valleys would immediately create such a demand for lumber that its production along the Upper Rock in Wisconsin would at once be doubled. Iron manufacturers had visions of the growth of Birminghams and Pittsburghs along the Rock River, and believed that the mineral ore of the Lake Superior region could be converted into a finished product with the coal, limestone, and peat that was so abundantly available along the Rock River. In addition, it was argued that the northern Illinois area possessed the great agricultural regions to feed the operatives and the lumber, iron, and pork that were in demand in the southern states. Also, the sugar, rice, cotton, and tobacco of the South were equally desired in Illinois and Wisconsin, and could be more economically transported by water. Farmers gloomily claimed that railroads could not possibly ship all their freight even if the rates were reasonable, and charged that it was cheaper to burn their corn for fuel than to ship it by rail for food purposes. Many settlers throughout the valley felt assured that navigation improvements would cause such cities as Fond du Lac, Horicon, Watertown, Jefferson, Jamestown, Beloit, Rockford, Dixon, and Sterling to "progress as if under hothouse conditions," and rapidly to mushroom into Buffalos, Rochesters, and

Uticas, in shorter time than it had taken the cities along the Erie Canal to develop.[19]

The unpopularity of the railroads, the insistent demands of farmers and manufacturers for navigation improvements directly after the Civil War, and the more recent interest shown in the improvement of the Rock River for navigation by interested shippers, have not, however, been enough to offset the expansion of rail lines, the construction of parallel hard roads, and the later introduction of the automobile, all of which have slowly operated to quiet the demands of even the most ardent advocates of waterway development.[20] Today, small sailing craft, yachts, motor boats, canoes and fishing boats, continue to operate on the Rock River and its tributaries both in Wisconsin and Illinois, and few recall the Indian canoe, the *canot* of the fur trader, the clumsy keel and flatboats drifting downstream to Mississippi River towns, logs racing through slides in dams, and the puffing of stubby steamboats struggling over shallow rapids.

[19] Report of Bvt. Maj. J. H. Wilson on Survey of Rock River, 1867, *House Exec. Docs.*, no. 15, 40 Cong., 1 sess.

[20] *United States Statutes at Large*, 71 Cong., 2 sess., Vol. 46, part 1, chap. 847 (1930), p. 941. The River and Harbors Act of July 3, 1930 provided for a preliminary survey of "Rock River, Illinois and Wisconsin, from Janesville to the water power dam at Rockford, with a view to securing a navigable channel nine feet in depth and of suitable width." The project was not considered economically feasible. The preliminary examination of the Rock River for flood control now being carried on by the War Department was authorized by the Rivers and Harbors Act of June 28, 1938. See *U. S. Statutes at Large*, 75 Cong., 3 sess., Vol. 52, chap. 795 (June 28, 1938), p. 1,224.

# HISTORICAL NOTES

## THE GRAVE OF E. D. BAKER

On May 21, 1940, the remains of Colonel E. D. Baker, his wife, and his son, Major E. D. Baker, were removed from the beautiful grave in Laurel Hill Cemetery (see *Journal*, June 1939, p. 232) to new graves in the National Cemetery in the well-known military reservation known as the Presidio, which is near to Laurel Hill.[1] Whether the new graves will have such a commanding view as the old, and will be marked with the original table stone, I do not yet know. There was "a brief ceremony" under the auspices of the Colonel E. D. Baker Camp Sons of Civil War Veterans.

If there had to be any removal this probably is as good an arrangement as could be made.

The entire cemetery property will be sold. Eventually a mausoleum is to be constructed in another cemetery in which the remains from the large number of graves in Laurel Hill will be "placed in crypts." During the interval between exhumation and erection of the mausoleum, these remains will be stored in catacombs, controlled by the removal corporation. In the case of Colonel and Senator Baker a departure seems to have been made from the general plan.

F. L. BULLARD

BOSTON, MASS.

## "KI-RO? KAY-RO? CARE-O?"

1060 The Rookery
Chicago, Illinois
June 28, 1940

*Mr. Paul M. Angle, Librarian*
*Illinois State Historical Library*
*Springfield, Illinois*

Dear Mr. Angle:

Not long ago there was a squib in the *Chicago Tribune* "Line O' Type," in which the writer was poking fun at an alleged pro-

nunciation of "Kay-ro" in Illinois as against "Ki-ro" in Egypt. I replied in a similar vein to tell him that he was wrong and that we called it "Care-o." I added that my Grandfather Gilbert had named the place and also had been one of the incorporators of the original Illinois Central Railroad.

You probably know that in 1818 a man named John G. Comegys and others entered the land which is now Cairo from the government and got up a plat of a city there. They did nothing further, Comegys dying in 1819. The land was forfeited for non-payment of further installments and lay a wilderness until 1835, when my Grandfather Miles A. Gilbert, Sidney Breese (later of the Supreme Court of Illinois) and Thomas Swanwick re-entered it from the government. Shortly afterward the Cairo City and Canal Company was formed, of which my grandfather was an incorporator. Darius B. Holbrook took over the financing of this and you probably know the rest of that history. The town as platted had no relation to the former town.

Some time in the 1890's when I was a student at Northwestern I asked my grandfather how it happened that the place was called "Care-o." He told me that after the entry of the land by himself and associates a difference of opinion had arisen as to the name to give it. It was finally left to him and he decided to call it "Cairo" because the abortive attempt had used that name—although this was started again from scratch.

I then asked him why it was called "Care-o." He was an educated man and was perfectly familiar with the city in Egypt, which was called "Ki-ro." He said people were mistaken in thinking that it was named Cairo because of the rivers, but that it had been named for a man who was called "Dr. Cairo" and who called himself "Care-o."

This is all I know on the subject, but as my grandfather entered the land, helped incorporate the Illinois Central from that point, helped incorporate the town and lived there in 1843 as the resident agent of the Cairo City Property Company after the failure of Holbrook's plans, I think he is a better authority than anyone else in the world.

Very truly yours,
BARRY GILBERT

## LINCOLN AND THE "REAPER CASE"

Research in preparation for writing a biography of Ralph Emerson (1831-1914) has uncovered so many mistakes in standard biographies of Abraham Lincoln, mistakes which perpetuate themselves in subsequent volumes, that I would like, briefly at this time, to point them out "for the record." Anything about Lincoln is important enough so the record should be kept straight, even in details.

The incident in question is the "Reaper Case"—*McCormick* v. *Manny et als.*, in 1855, in which Lincoln was of counsel for Manny. Ralph Emerson was one of Manny's partners and was present at the trial in Cincinnati.

Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years* (Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1926), II: 41, says: "In Rockford was John M. Manny," instead of John H. Manny. Sandburg also says: "The farmer sat and drove a team of horses while revolving scythes behind cut swaths of grain." This is not particularly important, but others might fall into the same error of confusing the revolving reel with the cutting apparatus, which is the sickle bar and knives.

Still referring to the Reaper Case, Sandburg mentions Judge McLean as "the same Federal judge before whom the Rock Island bridge case had been tried, with victory for Lincoln's client" (p. 41). The accident to the *Effie Afton* took place on May 6, 1856 and the trial was held in September, 1857, so the Reaper Case trial was two years before that of the Rock Island bridge case.

Emerson's connection with Lincoln and the case is a jumble in Sandburg. He intimates that Emerson first met Lincoln at Cincinnati—"struck up an acquaintance" (p. 42)—whereas their friendship dated from 1851, when the young man was reading law with Kersey Fell, in Bloomington, and used to meet Lincoln when the latter was riding the circuit, since he made his headquarters with the Fells when in Bloomington. It was in Bloomington, in 1851, and not in Cincinnati, as stated in Sandburg, that Emerson asked Lincoln, while the two were walking together: "Mr. Lincoln, is it possible for a man to practice law and always do by others as he would be done by?" It was this walk that changed Emerson's life and made him drop the law for business. The walk in Cincinnati after the trial, in which Lincoln said he was going back to

Illinois to study law, is mentioned briefly and located correctly (p. 43). In the index to this volume, Ralph Emerson is entered as Ralph Waldo Emerson.

On page 337, Sandburg says that in 1860 McCormick was sending out more than 50,000 reapers a year. In the McCormick Patent Extension Case of 1861, which I examined in the McCormick Historical Association Library, in Chicago, McCormick's own statement gives his production in 1860 as 4,076; from 1848 through 1860 his total was only 31,745. It isn't that this was not a goodly number for the times; I merely wish to point out Sandburg's error.

Albert J. Beveridge, in his monumental work, *Abraham Lincoln* (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1928), I: 575-76, covers the Reaper Case very well. He mentions, however, Edward M. Dickerson, instead of Edward N., and dates McCormick's invention of the reaper as 1834 (the date of the patent) instead of 1831, but these are not particularly important.

What I disagree with Beveridge about, is a statement he got from Parkinson in 1923, who got it from Harding in 1876, and Harding himself was not necessarily "in the know" anyway. This statement is that "rival manufacturers in the East joined the Rockford manufacturers [John H. Manny and associates] in their fight upon McCormick, although they did not appear of record in the litigation" and "a large fund was raised," intimating that these easterners contributed financially. This construction has been echoed by Hutchinson, in his biography of McCormick, and by Woldman.

As a matter of fact, the ownership of the Manny patents was vested in John H. Manny personally and he engaged vis-a-vis his other partners in Manny & Company to stand any patent lawsuit expenses himself. I have this in several Emerson letters at the time Manny & Company was formed; in fact Emerson said that he would not go into the company if such were not the case. Manny & Company paid license fees to J. H. Manny, just like any other licensee; in 1855 and 1856, for example, they paid him or his widow $153,575. In the Mary Manny Patent Extension Case of 1865, Ralph Emerson in a supporting deposition swore: ". . . and the other partners, as well as myself, would have been unwilling to have proceeded with the manufacture without his paying, as he did, the entire expenses of the litigation."

Some money came in from the East, though very little, for licenses, and eastern manufacturers gave moral and verbal support in the lawsuit, but even this latter was not always free. The above-mentioned patent extension case gives very detailed accounts of J. H. Manny's receipts and expenditures, and among the payments for 1855 I find:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Jan. 3 | D. L. Seymour, for copies | $22.00 |
| Jan. 10 | D. S. Morgan, expenses in Washington | 50.00 |
| May 28 | Sears, Adriance & Platt, for Ambler machine | 142.20 |
| July 7 | D. S. Morgan, expenses procuring witnesses. | 77.27 |
| Aug. 24 | Obed Hussey, serving as witness | 25.00 |
| Sept. 5 | id time & models, in full | 50.00 |
| 1856 | | |
| Jan. 7 | J. P. Adriance to reimburse for expense incurred in suit | 115.79 |

All these were eastern manufacturers.

In the same accounts there is an item for October 26, 1857 of $883.28, "Pd. Manny & Co., expenses on McCormick suit," while on March 11, 1859 is "R. Emerson's expenses at different times in the business, $776.09."

The above would indicate to me that J. H. Manny paid the expenses of the suit single-handed.

As I mentioned, Albert A. Woldman in *Lawyer Lincoln* (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1936), 174 accepts and repeats the thesis that other McCormick competitors came to the financial assistance of Manny. Woldman also errs in saying "P. H. Warner" instead of P. H. Watson, and "Ralph Emerson, of Rockwood, Illinois," instead of Rockford, Illinois.

W. M. Dickson, in *The Magazine of History*, Extra no. 69 [i. e. 70] (Tarrytown, N. Y., 1920), which is a reprint of the article in *Harper's Magazine* (June, 1884), on page 50 places Lincoln's visit to Cincinnati for this trial as in 1857 instead of 1855.

By the way, Dickson's article would give the lie to all those who fancifully write that Lincoln was friendless and unknown in Cincinnati. *Relatively* unknown he may have been, but friendless he was not, as Dickson says he "remained during his stay at the house of a friend." Paul M. Angle, in *Lincoln, 1854-1861* (Abraham

Lincoln Association, Springfield, Ill., 1933), 90 surmises that this friend was Dickson himself.

But the author who deserves the most severe criticism is Frank M. Flower, because his *Edwin McMasters Stanton* (Saalfield Publishing Co., Akron, Ohio, 1905) has long been an erroneous source book for information on the Reaper Case. Flower quotes on page 62 a letter to himself from Ralph Emerson. I have a letter-press copy of that letter, dated March 10, 1887, and comparison of the two shows that Flower left out about half of the original letter, with no indication he had done any cutting, editing, or paraphrasing. For instance—in his endeavor to build up Stanton—in referring to P. H. Watson he omitted the words, " . . . (subsequently Asst. Sec. of War) had charge of the case on our side." In another place the original reads, "as Mr. Harding and Mr. Stanton had devoted," whereas Flower transposed the names and quoted, "Stanton and Harding having devoted." In the description of Stanton's argument, an entire sentence is added, to wit: "At times the Court regarded him in amazement, so extraordinary were his memory and power of analysis." He adds,as well, that Lincoln was "wrapt in admiration" as he walked back and forth during Stanton's speech. Stanton was important enough in the case without trying to claim that he won it single-handed.

What I object to even more than this in Flower, is his dragging in a story from a "Colonel" Wood, to the effect that, through Wood's tampering with a McCormick machine, McCormick lost the case. Flower bought and paid for this story, when Wood was over eighty and in such dire distress that Flower wrote the McCormick lawyer: "Finally, being much pressed by an officer who proposed to enforce collection of a note for I think $45, he said he would give almost an arm if he could get rid of that paper."

I wouldn't mention this Wood matter here at all, excepting that Otto Eisenschiml, in *Why Was Lincoln Murdered?* (Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1937), swallows the story, hook, line, and sinker. The entire dossier of the case (which Eisenschiml saw) is in the McCormick Historical Association Library. A careful historian like Professor William T. Hutchinson, who also saw the dossier, in his monumental biography of Cyrus Hall McCormick (The Century Co., New York, 1930) dismissed the whole thing in a footnote.

Hutchinson says, " . . . . but the records do not support their contention that their cleverness had much influence upon the court" (Vol. II, p. 439n.). I would go even further, and say that it had *no* influence, because Harding, in his defense argument, said outright that the divider bow (which Wood claimed he altered so it would be different from the Manny) was practically identical on the Manny and McCormick machines.

Eisenschiml, of course, is citing evidence to indicate that Stanton was an arch-conspirator against Lincoln, and Flower's story bolsters his contention that one of Stanton's tools (Wood) was a scoundrel. I can applaud his conclusions about Wood's character, but I must protest when Eisenschiml, with no ifs, ands, nor buts, says, "As a result, McCormick lost the case" (p. 191).

Perhaps I am dignifying Flower, who probably carries little weight as a historian, with too much attention. My reason,as I said before, is that his book might be quoted again in the future, and I should say that it should be used with the utmost care and any facts checked if the rest of it is of the same caliber as is the treatment of the Reaper Case.

Of course, the Reaper Case itself was an important milestone in Lincoln's life, so no apology should be needed for throwing as much light on it as possible.

EMERSON HINCHLIFF

COLEBROOK, CONN.

NOTE—Since writing the above I have examined Ben Ames Williams, Jr., "*Mr. Secretary*" (Macmillan Co., New York, 1940). It is written in the first person, as though it were Stanton's autobiography. Using Flower and Eisenschiml as sources, he accepts the story of the "doctored" reaper entirely. See pages 108, 112, and 263.

## ROUGH JUSTICE IN PIONEER DAYS

Although the [Sangamon] country had been without courts until 1824, and no enforcements of law by authorized officials, yet life and property were protected then as sacredly as at the present time. Difficulties relative to civil matters were almost wholly unknown, and when they did arise, a speedy and satisfactory settlement was effected by reference to neighbors—no lawyers' fees, no costs, no hard feelings,— all were friends again. As to all minor offences, public opinion was sufficient to prevent them. Liberality, generosity, honor, integrity, were the leading traits in the character of the pioneer settlers. Now and then a man devoid of principles and honor arrived, but, upon showing his colors, he was sure to be invited to emigrate to some more congenial clime. Now and then some hardy villain violated the law, as the pioneer recollected the reading of the statute in Virginia or Kentucky, but was soon visited by an armed band, known as the "Regulators," —organized, not for violation of law, but for its enforcement—an organization which resulted from the inability of courts, sheriffs and the ordinary machinery of the law, to detect offenders. One or two examples of the way in which the Regulators did business are given, by way of illustration: The land sales did not take place until 1823, and even then two-thirds of the settlers who had begun improvements were unable to raise money enough to enter the land they resided upon. Sometimes a stranger "entered out the settler," as they called it in those days. This was one of the meanest things, in the estimation of a pioneer, that a white man could be guilty of, and always demanded the attention of the Regulators. In this manner, a man by the name of Alexander Wheeler entered out Tolbert Hite. Wheeler was called upon by the Regulators, and after a speedy examination, they decided to give him one hundred lashes, which they did. Wheeler afterward met old Thos. Cowhick in the road, and believing him to be one of the party, who, under disguise, had inflicted the punishment upon him, sprang from his

pony, threw the halter over the old man's neck, drew his knife across his throat, and swore he would kill him. Being resolute, and full of fire, Cowhick told him as often as he repeated the threat "to kill and be d—d." Wheeler got on his horse and rode off. He afterward told Jonathan Young that he "meant to kill the old man, but there was so much fire in his eye that he couldn't." Wheeler was notified to quit the country, which, for safety, he did.

JOHN G. HENDERSON, *Early History of the "Sangamon Country,"* 20-21.

## A CHEAP BATHING APPARATUS

First, a small house four feet square, with a loose floor to let the water off. Second, a tub over head with an inch auger hole in the bottom and a tin pan nailed over it, or rather under it, full of small holes made with a scratchawl. The plug to stop the hole in the tub should reach as high as the upper edge of the tub. The lower end should be nicely tapered to a point to regulate the size of the stream. In the upper end saw a mortice to let in a small lever and fasten with a pin. Another mortice in a small piece nailed on to the inside of the tub, receives one end of the lever. The other end reaches over the side of the tub and has a handle hanging down a few inches into the room so that a person can reach it. This handle is made of soft wood, so that it can be stuck on to a small spike in the timber. When the operator is ready, he strikes the lower end of the handle and raises the plug until the water comes down fast enough to suit, and then sticks it on the spike. A box is convenient to sit on while washing the feet. The enjoyment of a clean and lively skin amply repays for a little trouble. Bathe and be healthy.

*Illinois Journal*, July 19, 1855.

## IN DEFENSE OF THE WEST

A very common notion has been entertained in the "old thirteen States," and more especially New England, that the pioneers of the West were a rough, uncouth, half-civilized class, ignorant,

indolent, and altogether unfit to constitute the germ of virtuous society. Proof of this, in the minds of strangers, are drawn, as the school-boy says, *a priori*. Here are the reasons. They lived by hunting, fought Indians, wore hunting-shirts, moccasins, and skin caps,—carried a rifle, with a belt, powder-horn, butcher knife, and tomahawk by their side, when treading the forests or prairies; —lived in log-cabins,—eat their homely and often scanty meals from platters, or wooden trenchers,—ground their corn in a hand-mill, or pounded it in mortar;—and drank their milk from a tin cup.—*Ergo*, they were an uncivilized, unchristianized, barbarous, fighting, glorying, whiskey-drinking race, who ought to have been prevented from making Territorial and State governments "by law."—They were "squatters," who settled on the public lands, that specially belonged to the "old thirteen States," and got pre-emption rights; thereby depriving enterprising and respectable land-jobbers of the privileges of monopoly. These pioneers were very unreasonable for not living in densely populated districts, and being satisfied with the guardianship of their betters, who were qualified to form the social compact, and make laws for their government.

Such have been the reasonings of thousands both statesmen and christians. By the same mode of drawing inferences, we, of the west, can prove to a demonstration that the pioneers of New England were quite a back-woods race. They lived on fish, hunted game, wore an uncourtly dress,—showed a sun-browned, weather-beaten physiognomy; domiciled in log-houses; killed Indians; and what is more to the purpose, organized governments, like western pioneers, and made their own laws, or, as that veracious historian, Hugh Peters affirmed, "adopted the laws of God, until they could get time to make better." There are proofs direct that the pioneer puritans were a very uncivil people, and wholly unfit to commence settlements in a new country. They ought to have staid at home, minded their betters, and waited until the country had become populous, intelligent and refined.

Last summer a venerable clergyman from—"down east"—came to Chicago, to attend the great internal improvement Convention. He had gotten, as he supposed, to that renowned place, ycleped the F–a–r– W–e–s–t. He opened his eyes with a wide stare—raised

his hands towards heaven in astonishment, and prepared a written speech, expressive of his amazement that the people were so civilized,—for they looked almost like christians; and *read* a prosy speech to show that all this wonder of wonders was produced by the peculiarities of New-England puritanism. He was replied to by Senator Corwin of Ohio, in a witty, amusing and satirical style, which proved a "knock-down" argument to the old gentleman's fancies. This story illustrates the propensity so common, to judge that people at a distance, and of whom we have no particular knowledge, are of course so vastly our inferiors in knowledge, common sense and virtue.

*Illinois Journal*, April 6, 1848.

## CAMPAIGN SONGS, 1860

### Abe of Illinois

From many a freeman's home and hearth
There comes a shout of joy,
(Who loves a soul of genuine worth),
For Abe, of Illinois.

No servile politician he—
"True gold, without alloy;"
Unanimous our vote will be
For Abe, of Illinois.

No! not for party—not for spoil
Will he his gift* employ,
But for his country's good will toil,
"Old Abe," of Illinois.

Our hero once was short of pence,
An humble farmer's boy,
We *know* he'll teach us how to "Fence"—
"Old Abe," of Illinois.

* The highest gift of the Nation—the office of President.

To fence the Union all around
He'll work—*he will not toy;*
The cause is earnest and profound,
For Abe, of Illinois.

*Hutchinson's Republican Songster, 1860*, 19-20.

STEPH. A. DOUGLAS AND H. V. JOHNSON

Air:– Dandy Jim of Caroline

We'll raise our glorious banner high,
"Douglas and Johnson," live or die;
We'll vindicate our glorious cause,
The constitution, and its laws;
Aristocrats we do despise,
For they the poor would disfranchise.
The constitution is our plan,
That gives to all the rights of man.

With sordid gold their votes are bought,
And by it silly fools are caught;
But Democrats of olden times,
Could not be caught with golden dimes,
Nor can they at the present day,
Though many traps, their foes may lay.
The constitution is our plan,
That gives to all the rights of men.

Then rally to the standard, all!
"Douglas and Johnson," stand or fall!
At the ballot box November next,
Whatever be our foes pretext,
In rank and file, we will them rout,
And the glorious vict'ry shout!
The constitution is our plan,
That gives to all the rights of man.

H. DE MARSAN (?) (1860).

## CHICAGO CITIZENRY, 1833

The fort [Dearborn] contained within its palisades by far the most enlightened residents, in the little knot of officers attached to the slender garrison. The quarters here consequently were too confined to afford place of residence for the Government Commissioners, for whom and a crowd of dependants, a temporary set of plank huts were erected on the north side of the river. To the latter gentlemen, we, as the only idle lookers on, were indebted for much friendly attention; and in the frank and hospitable treatment we received from the inhabitants of Fort Dearborn, we had a foretaste of that which we subsequently met with everywhere under like circumstances, during our autumnal wanderings over the Frontier. The officers of the United States Army have perhaps less opportunities of becoming refined than those of the Navy. They are often, from the moment of their receiving commissions, after the termination of their Cadetship at West Point, and at an age when good society is of the utmost consequence to the young and ardent, exiled for long years to the posts on the Northern or Western frontier, far removed from cultivated female society, and in daily contact with the refuse of the human race. And this is their misfortune—not their fault;—but wherever we have met with them, and been thrown as strangers upon their good offices, we have found them the same good friends and good company. . . .

Next in rank to the Officers and Commissioners, may be noticed certain store-keepers and merchants resident here; looking either to the influx of new settlers establishing themselves in the neighbourhood, or those passing yet farther to the westward, for custom and profit; not to forget the chance of extraordinary occasions like the present. Add to these a doctor or two, two or three lawyers, land-agent, and five or six hotel-keepers. These may be considered as stationary, and proprietors of the half a hundred clap-board houses around you.

Then for the birds of passage, exclusive of the Pottawattomies, of whom more anon—and emigrants and land-speculators as numerous as the sand. You will find horse-dealers, and horse-stealers,—rogues of every description, white, black, brown, and red—half-breeds, quarter breeds, and men of no breed at all;—dealers in pigs, poultry, and potatoes;—men pursuing Indian claims, some for

tracts of land, others, like our friend Snipe, for pigs which the wolves had eaten;—creditors of the tribes, or of particular Indians, who know that they have no chance of getting their money, if they do not get it from the Government agents;—sharpers of every degree; pedlars, grog-sellers; Indian agents and Indian traders of every description, and Contractors to supply the Pottawattomies with food. The little village was in an uproar from morning to night, and from night to morning; for, during the hours of darkness, when the housed portion of the population of Chicago strove to obtain repose in the crowded plank edifices of the village, the Indians howled, sang, wept, yelled, and whooped in their various encampments. With all this, the whites seemed to me more pagan than the red men.

CHARLES J. LATROBE, *The Rambler in North America, 1832-1833*, II: 151-53.

# NEWS AND COMMENT

S. A. Burgess, historian of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, has asked us to publish the following corrections of statements in his communication of December 20, 1939, which was printed as a "Historical Note" in the *Journal* for March, 1940: "On page 120, last paragraph, there is serious question if the *Mormon Menace* represents John Doyle Lee, or is his book. On page 121 in the second paragraph, line six, the words 'we do' were interpolated. The clause should read 'even if we were prepared to accept everything he said'."

Joseph W. Rickert, Waterloo, was the guest of honor at a banquet given by the Waterloo Chamber of Commerce on the occasion of his one hundredth birthday anniversary on July 9. Three hundred people attended the banquet at which William A. Irwin, New York City, was the principal speaker. Mr. Rickert, who has been engaged in legal practice for seventy-one years, still maintains his law office in Waterloo. He is also active as president of the Commercial State Bank of Waterloo—a position which he has held for fifty-eight years. Since 1932, Mr. Rickert has been a member of the Illinois State Historical Society.

A "Jane Addams Day" program was held in Cedarville on May 23 to mark the village as the birthplace of Jane Addams. Two highway markers of bronze, which were purchased by the Stephenson County Federation of Women's Clubs, were dedicated by Paul M. Angle, Springfield. The Reverend Paul Dunn, Cedarville, and Donald L. Breed, Freeport, also spoke. Mrs. David L. Braman, president of the Women's Clubs, presided and music was furnished by Mrs. James Ilgen and by groups of school children. Following the program, Boy Scouts escorted visitors to historic places of interest in the village. The tour was concluded with a tea given by the Cedarville Woman's Club.

The Augustana Historical Society held its annual meeting on June 4. O. L. Nordstrom, F. M. Fryxell, and A. T. Lundholm, all of Rock Island, were elected to three-year terms on the board of directors. The board will elect officers this fall. President Nordstrom announced that an entire floor of the Denkmann Memorial Library can now be used for historical manuscripts. The Augustana Institute of Swedish Culture, recently organized at Augustana College, will aid the Society in enlarging the present collection of archive and museum materials.

The Aurora Historical Society held its annual meeting on May 12 and elected the following officers: president, Frank Plain; vice-presidents, Charles Pierce Burton, Miss Marion Strossman; secretary, Edna Wilson Tanner; treasurer, E. R. Downer; directors, Frank Weisgerber, Jack Holslag, William Fletcher Fowler.

Miss Alice Applegate, museum curator, reported that there were 1,321 visitors at the Society's museum during the preceding twelve months. Six hundred and forty-eight gifts were received during this period. There are now six full-time employees at the museum.

A series of benefit card parties was held at the museum during the summer for the benefit of the Historical Society.

One of the many activities which the Boone County Historical Society has undertaken is that of providing a weekly column in the *Belvidere Daily Republican*. Under the heading " 'Way Back When," various "recollections of yesteryear" are printed each Saturday. Many accounts of real historical value are printed and their publication often brings forth other reminiscences of early settlers which might otherwise be forgotten. Other historical societies might find this practice popular in their own communities.

The Bureau County Historical Society is also sponsoring the publication of short articles in newspapers. Some of these pertain to the history of the county and some are about objects of historical interest to be found in the museum of the Historical Society in

Princeton. Mrs. Ethel Knauf of Princeton, correspondent for the *La Salle Post-Tribune*, is directing the work. Articles are published in all newspapers of Bureau County under various headings.

One hundred and two new members were added to the Bureau County Historical Society in twelve months, according to announcement made at the annual meeting of the Society in June. Hugh Ferris was chairman of the membership drive.

Mrs. H. P. Grove, president, announced that a large collection of documents and papers concerning Owen Lovejoy had been presented to the Society by Mrs. John Skinner and other members of the Lovejoy family. Several copies of these papers will be made for use by the general public so that the originals may be preserved. The unpublished writings of Nehemiah Matson, early Bureau County historian, have also been secured and copies of these will be made by N. Y. A. workers. W. P. A. workers are now indexing newspapers of the county for the Society.

The following officers were re-elected at the annual meeting: president, Mrs. H. P. Grove; vice-president, Miss Grace Bryant; secretary, Ward K. Schori; treasurer, F. S. Fowler; custodian, T. A. Fenoglio; assistant custodian, Clifford Thompson. Five directors were re-elected, each to serve three years: Con Brown, Charles Savio, E. B. Cushing, Ward K. Schori, and J. A. Omen.

The old Cahokia Courthouse, moved back to its original site in 1939, and now completely restored, was re-dedicated on May 30. This building, constructed of vertical black walnut logs, served as the courthouse of St. Clair County from 1793 until the county seat was moved to Belleville in 1814. During the years that followed, it was used for many different purposes until it was dismantled in 1904 and moved to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis. At the close of the Fair it was sold to the Chicago park board and taken to Jackson Park where it remained on exhibition until 1939. After being returned to its original site, reconstruction work on the building was undertaken by the State of Illinois.

At the re-dedication exercises, Charles P. Casey, director of the Department of Public Works and Buildings, and Paul M. Angle, librarian of the State Historical Library, were the principal speakers.

Music was furnished by French choral groups from Prairie du Rocher, Illinois, and Ste. Genevieve, Missouri.

On the evening preceding the re-dedication program, one of the features of the Diamond Jubilee celebration of East St. Louis was presented in that city. An epic drama, "America's Delta," written and directed by William Dodd Chenery of Springfield, was presented. Four hundred singers and actors took part in the pageant depicting the discovery and development of the area.

The West Side Historical Society (Chicago) sponsored a tour to Plainfield, Illinois on June 22. J. C. Miller, first vice-president of the Society, conducted the trip.

The high school chapters of the West Side group added seventy names to their membership rolls before school was out last spring. The winners of the 1940 essay contest among the schools will receive their awards at the October meeting of the West Side Historical Society.

More than two hundred members were present at the annual meeting of the South Shore Historical Society on May 16. Mrs. Ora Snyder, candy manufacturer, who was a former resident of the community, was the guest of honor. Joseph Mohr read a paper on the history of the South Shore, written from information obtained from his grandmother, Mrs. Al Mohr. An orchid is presented at each meeting of the Society to the woman member present who has resided longest on the South Shore district. On this occasion it went to Mrs. Catherine Middagh.

Officers elected at this meeting include: president, Arthur J. Barnsback; vice-president, Mrs. Mary Taylor Sawyer; recording secretary, Miss Cecil Fralick; corresponding secretary, Miss Helen S. Babcock; treasurer, Harry C. Kriewitz; genealogist, David B. Bird.

At the meeting of the DeKalb County Historical Society on June 9, the Society voted to sponsor a county history. A review of the past year's activities was a part of this meeting. Officers elected

for the new year include the following: president, R. J. McAllister; vice-president, Mrs. J. C. Hutter; secretary-treasurer, Mrs. W. F. Wiltberger.

Wanborough, early English settlement west of Albion, Illinois, and its founder, Morris Birkbeck, were the topics for discussion at the June meeting of the Edwards County Historical Society. This settlement, of which nothing now remains except the burial ground, was described by Edgar L. Dukes who illustrated his talk with maps and charts.

The Gallatin County Historical Society held its May meeting in Equality. Robert Reid spoke on the Indians of the region and Jacob W. Meyers discussed the early history of the county and the salt industry. The regular monthly meetings were suspended during the summer.

The Glencoe Historical Society held a joint meeting with the Woman's Library Club on May 10. Mrs. Andrew MacLeish was the speaker and guest of honor. Music was furnished by Miss Elizabeth Sheldon, pianist, and a playlet was presented by members of the Woman's Library Club.

At the annual meeting of the Glencoe Historical Society, held on June 13, the following officers were elected: president, Mrs. John A. Grant; vice-president, Mrs. Frederick W. Hill; treasurer, Charles A. Saxby; secretary, Miss Helen Beckwith.

A number of tours to historic places were arranged by the Hancock County Historical Society during the past summer. Committees were appointed to make arrangements for each trip. The Society has assumed the work of restoring the gravestones still remaining in the first Carthage cemetery. Officers elected by the Society on July 6 include: president, Rollo Robbins; first vice-president, Mrs. Ralph Widney; second vice-president, Junius C. Ferris; secretary, Miss Abigail Davidson; treasurer, Miss Carrie D. Merrill; historian, C. J. Scofield; trustees, Don Gordon, Ed C. Hancock, and M. Baumert.

A monument marking the site of Little Rock Indian village, home of the last Potawatomi chief, Shawanasee, was dedicated on May 23 by the Kankakee County Historical Society. A bronze plaque placed on a concrete monument gives a brief history of the village. B. B. Ferris, president of the Kankakee County Historical Society, was in charge of the dedication exercises. The monument is on State Route 113, nine miles northwest of Kankakee.

J. H. McCoy was elected president of the Macon County Historical Society in July. He succeeded Webber Borchers who has held office since the Society was reorganized two years ago. Other officers elected at this time are: vice-president, Mrs. W. W. Doane; secretary, Miss Mabel Richmond; treasurer, Miss Clara M. Baker.

At this meeting the Macon County economic survey was described by R. N. Thompson, and Cecil Pease reported on the historical survey project.

Residents of Collinsville provided the program for the semi-annual meeting of the Madison County Historical Society on June 1. Mrs. Mark Henson, first vice-president, gave a paper on early Collinsville history, Edward W. Burroughs, Jr., spoke on "Our Historical Museum," R. Guy Kneedler discussed the Cahokia mound builders, and Mrs. W. J. Biel talked on "The Collins Family." Herbert C. Crocker conducted a quiz on Madison County history and Al Friedli, Miss Anne Root and George Burggraf provided several musical selections. H. P. S. Smith is the president of the Madison County organization.

The American Negro Exposition—the first Negro "world's fair"—was held at the Chicago Coliseum from July 4 to September 2. The achievements of American Negroes during the seventy-five years since their emancipation were portrayed by various exhibits. A large replica of the Lincoln Monument at Springfield occupied the central position in the main exhibit hall.

The Oak Park Historical Society elected the following officers on May 16: president, Thomas Doane; first vice-president, Mrs. George W. White; second vice-president, Milton J. Marland; third vice-president and historian, Adele H. Maze; secretary-treasurer, Mrs. Frank Stevens. Mrs. William J. Unfried was appointed corresponding secretary. J. C. Miller, chairman of the historical facts committee, has been collecting pictures of people and places connected with Oak Park history.

At the May meeting of the Rock Island County Historical Society in Edgington, Judge Charles G. Davis of Cambridge, who is president of the Henry County Historical Society, was the principal speaker. Mrs. R. C. Wright, Morrison, and Miss Helene Fleming, Moline, discussed Lincolniana, and Mrs. Charles Crawford of Edgington recounted the history of that community. A committee consisting of Henry A. Staack, Ira O. Nothstein, and Dan H. McNeal was named to consult with the Rock Island Centennial Committee regarding the publication of a series of historical books.

The Rock Island Centennial Bridge across the Mississippi River was dedicated on July 12. This bridge, erected at a cost of $2,500,000, is 4,639 feet long and 62 feet wide. A three-day celebration was held in connection with the dedication.

Representatives of various civic organizations in Rockford are planning a community-wide organization whose purpose will be to collect and preserve historical material relating to the city. It is hoped that many letters, documents, photographs, etc., "showing the scientific, cultural and economic growth of Rockford" will be collected. These are to be filed for safekeeping in the Rockford College Library and the Rockford Public Library "to preserve for future generations a word-picture of Rockford."

An effort is being made by the Rockford Swedish Historical Society to establish a Swedish historical museum as a permanent institution for the preservation and display of materials and documents relating to the Swedish settlement there. At present, such materials are being placed in the Rockford College Library.

The historical records pertaining to the early history of St. Clair County and the territorial government which preceded it have been entrusted by the board of supervisors of St. Clair County to the Illinois State Library in Springfield. These records, which were formerly preserved in the county museum in the courthouse at Belleville, were filed and indexed by the late J. Nick Perrin before their removal. Since many of them are of statewide interest it was considered advisable to have the State assume the care and preservation of them.

There were 100 members present at the second annual meeting of the Winnetka Historical Society on May 2. Brief reports of the year's activities were made and the following officers were elected: president, Mrs. Carrie B. Prouty; vice-president, William A. Magie, II; secretary, Miss Mary S. King; treasurer, Mrs. Lee S. Fletcher; directors, Arthur Barrett, Sherman Otwig, and Wallace D. Rumsey; trustees, Frank A. Windes, S. Bowles King, Donald Jones. The Society will hold its first fall meeting in October.

## CONTRIBUTORS

Charles O. Paullin was a member of the research staff of the Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C., from 1912 to 1936. He became interested in naval history when he was employed in the United States Navy Department (1896-1900) and has written and edited numerous books and articles on this subject. He lives in Washington, D. C. . . . Marjorie Caroline Taylor, Virginia, Illinois,

is employed in the Old Age Assistance Division of the Public Welfare Department in Cass County, Illinois. Her article on domestic arts and crafts in Illinois is based on a portion of her thesis, "Trends in American Life Reflected and Preserved in Domestic Arts and Crafts, 1790-1850," which was submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a master's degree in history at the University of Illinois in 1937. . . . Ira Oliver Nothstein is Assistant Librarian at Augustana College and Theological Seminary at Rock Island, Illinois. . . . Gustav E. Larson is a Clerk in the Hydraulic Section of the United States Engineer Office, Rock Island, Illinois.

# WANDERINGS IN THE WEST IN 1839

BY EARL W. HAYTER

DURING the twenties and thirties of the past century a large number of New Englanders felt the call of the West. With the opening of the prairie lands many were "afflicted with the western fever" and as a result thousands left their eastern homes to seek wealth and fortune in the Middle States.[1] Among this stream of emigrants which flowed westward from New England was a Massachusetts farmer, Mr. J. Gould, who migrated early in the spring of 1839. In order to acquaint himself with the conditions in Illinois he decided to make an excursion and observe at firsthand life in the West before taking up a home on the prairies. He left home on May 16, traveling across New York, Pennsylvania, and down the Ohio River until he reached the National Road where he purchased a horse, and in company with others traveled through Indiana, entering Illinois at the town of Paris in Edgar County. He traversed the State in a northwesterly direction as far as Belvidere. From there he journeyed for a few days in southern Wisconsin before returning to Rockford, Illinois; from there he passed through Elgin on his way to Chicago where he took passage on a boat for the East.

[1] For a discussion of the New England emigrations see "Pioneer Letters of Gershom Flagg," edited by Solon J. Buck, *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1910*, pp. 139-41.

A journal was kept of his observations and these were subsequently published on his return home.[2] These accounts, though they no doubt had the bias of an easterner, shed a certain light upon a number of incidents and also give considerable information on social and economic conditions, especially in the northern counties of the State where such data are not as plentiful as in many of the other sections of the State. His observations were well written, and they are here printed *verbatim* and *literatim*. In only a few cases was it necessary to make changes and these are enclosed in brackets.

Omitting his observations in the other states that he passed through as well as those on his way home we herewith record his journey as it pertains to Illinois.

We stopped only one day at Terre Haute and left in the afternoon of the next, and hearing that the road was very bad on the other side, we went 7 miles up the river and crossed at Durkee's ferry. The river here is 240 yards wide. Our road was through timber for five miles, when learning that there were no taverns nor any houses for some distance ahead, we stopped at a farm house where we were well accommodated.

The next morning we resumed our journey over a bad road, through timber and barrens, skirting the grand prairie, and at 11 o'clock we reached Paris, the seat of Edgar county, Illinois. This is a pretty town, built in the form of a hollow square; the court house

[2] J. Gould, "Wanderings in the West in 1839," *The New England Farmer and Horticultural Register*, XVIII, no. 49-51, pp. 405-406, 412, 413-14, 420, 421-22 (May 27, June 10, 17, 24, 1840). Published at Boston, Mass., Henry Colman, editor, Joseph Breck & Co., publishers.

and other county buildings occupying the centre. Leaving Paris we entered upon the grand prairie. To the north as far as the eye can reach, we could see nothing but an ocean of grass; to the south and west timber could be seen, but at a great distance. The nearest house upon the road is ten miles from town. Some two or three miles north of the road Mr. Bradshaw, an English gentleman, has an estate of 3,000 acres, most of it fenced. His house is on a little eminence in the edge of a small grove, and commands a view of the whole Country from ten to fifteen miles around. . . .

Today I made my first acquaintance with those abominable sloughs for which Illinois is notorious. Just as we reached the ten mile house a hard rain set in, and we were obliged to stop and make the most of wretched accommodations.

The next morning was cloudy and so cold that we had to wear cloaks, although it was the middle of June. We travelled four miles over the prairie, when we came to a belt of timber and found six miles of the worst road I had yet seen, if road it may be called, for in this State no labor is done upon the road except to build corduroy bridges over sloughs that have become impassable. In the midst of this timber there is a little hamlet of log cabins called Independence, though as well known in the vicinity by the name of Pinhook. This town, as it is called, contains two stores, and, what is an uncommon sight, a school-house. About a mile from town we came to the Embarass river, and as the ferryman lived half a mile on the other side, we found ourselves in an embarrassing situation.

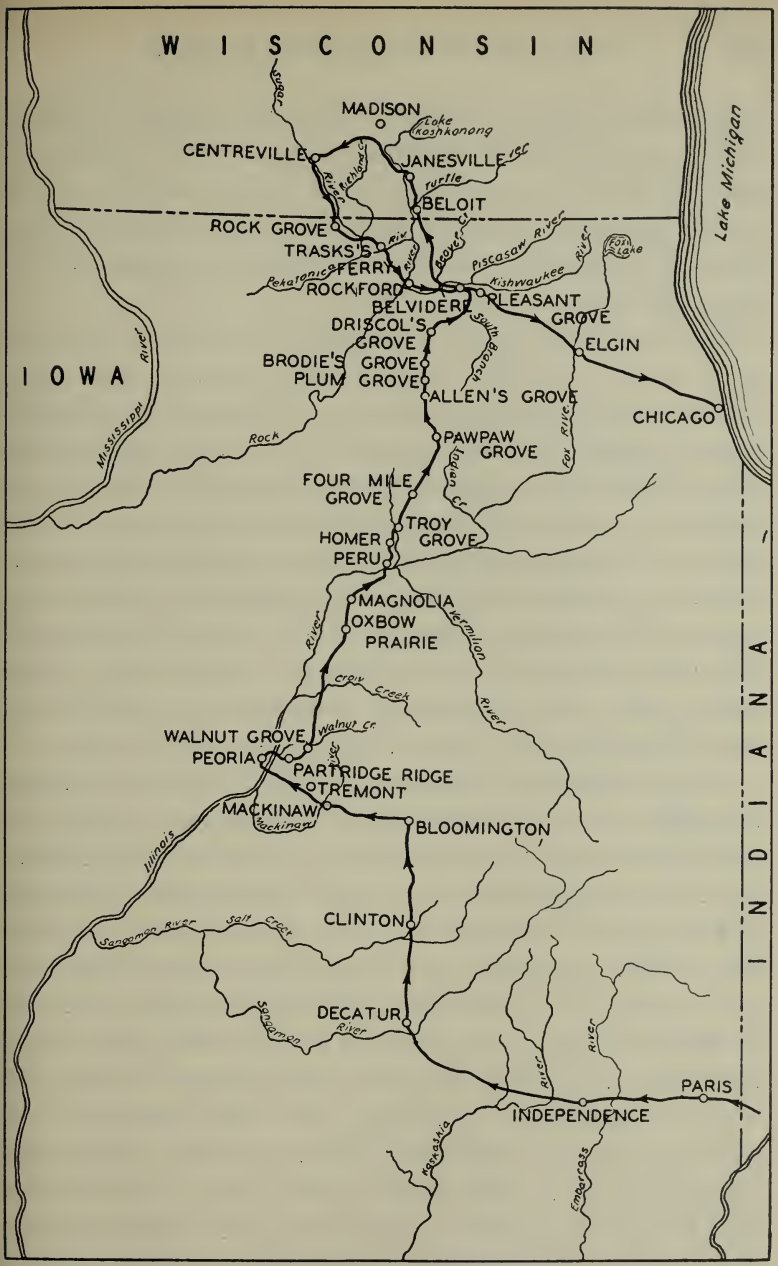
Here we found six wagons and as many families of emigrants from the east. The men were cutting fuel,

watching their horses that were grazing, &c. The women were washing, cooking and arranging their goods, while the children, in the happy carelessness of youth, were playing all manner of pranks upon the river banks: the whole forming a capital scene for the pencil. I entered into conversation with these people and found them from different parts and bound some for Sangamon county, some for Missouri, and some for, they knew not where, only they were going west, and I thanked my stars that I had not been mad enough to bring my family hither, but that they were now enjoying the comforts of home.

Having at last got the ferryman down to the river, we crossed over and stopped at the first farm house: this is in Coles county.

The next morning we saw several wagons moving east, and as it is as much a custom to inquire where one is bound, where from, and to ask other similar questions, as it is for ships at sea to speak [to] each other, we were soon acquainted with their history. These people had been, some to Warren county, on the Mississippi, and others to Iowa territory. They had all been sick, and had lost many of their kindred by death: they had sacrificed their property, and, poor and disheartened, they were almost begging their way back to the east. This group and the one we saw yesterday are specimens of what may be seen daily on all the great routes in the west.

We took leave of our host, who was a jolly Kentuckian, after breakfast, and pursued our way over level prairie, so soft that our horses tracked deep at every step, but no sloughs. We had to ford one creek about three or four feet deep, and at the end of 20 miles we




GOULD'S ROUTE THROUGH ILLINOIS, 1839

came to the Great Okaw,[3] a narrow sluggish stream, which we crossed by a ferry, and as it was 16 miles to the next timber, we put up, for it is impossible to travel in the night, and the traveller must seek shelter before night or camp out, which, for a person unprepared for it, is no joke.

Early on the following morning, we started in company with two other wagons from the east, and travelled over low prairie, and were obliged to go through three sloughs of the "biggest kind," each nearly, and one of them more than a quarter of a mile wide. I was obliged to wade and lead my horse in water up to my hips, and fortunately got through without assistance, while my fellow travellers were obliged to hire an ox team to haul them through. At 6 o'clock we reached the Little Ohaw [*sic*], which we crossed on a rude bridge, and put up, having consumed the whole day travelling 16 miles, and we were very diligent too.

In the morning we parted company with our fellow travellers, who kept the road to Springfield, while we turned off north towards Decatur, and having reached there we concluded to tarry until the next day. Decatur is built upon a broken piece of ground, on the north side of the Sangamon river, (which is here about 50 yards wide), 35 miles above Springfield, and is the seat of Macon County. It is full of stumps, has a few good houses at respectable distances, and contains about 200 or 300 inhabitants; but being the only town in the county, it has considerable trade and may become an important place. Here for the first time, I saw an ox mill for grinding corn: I afterwards saw many of them. The construction of them is simple: a circular plane is

[3] The name "Okaw" was a local corruption of the French "Aux Kaskaskias."

made of plank, with a shaft in the centre from which it is braced: the shaft is inclined 15 or 20 degrees from a perpendicular, which gives the plane the same inclination to the horizon, and the gearing is on the periphery of the plane or platform, and upon this from two to six oxen are placed, according to the size of the mill, who put the machine in motion. It is the simplest kind of tread-mill.

We left Decatur early by the northern road. It was a splendid morning: the air was clear, the sky cloudless, and the prairie being higher and more rolling, the road was dryer and better than any we had seen for a long time, and we rode on in high spirits. About 9 o'clock we came to an impassable creek, and supposed that we had misunderstood the directions we had received in town, and were out of our way—a misfortune to which travellers are very liable, for most of the inhabitants are new settlers and quite ignorant of the geography of their own neighborhoods, and those who do know anything about it, are as bungling as the sons of Erin in giving directions. In our dilemma we turned towards the head of the creek, hoping to strike the proper track in that direction, and after travelling until noon without finding any other track or making any progress in our way, we came to a halt. The creek where we then were, though broad was fordable, being only about two feet deep. The grove where we entered the prairie was just discernable, and we could see timber upon the other side, at the distance of 10 or 15 miles. We did not like to go back and we knew not the way forward. My companion had a pocket compass and map, and with the assistance of these we ventured to proceed. Having taken the bearings of the grove we had left and of our track,

we computed our departure as accurately as we were able, and laid down our course; then crossing the creek we travelled by the compass over the trackless prairie until late in the afternoon, when we struck the timber within a few rods of the road we should have travelled. We had then five miles to travel over as bad a road as was ever travelled, to get to Clinton, a new town on the north side of Salt Creek, which stream we crossed upon a bridge very much like the roof of a Dutch barn, and near which we got stuck in a mud-hole from which it took us an hour to get out. I never before realised the extent of the misfortune of those who get *rowed up Salt creek*. It was not until past 8 o'clock that we got to quarters, fatigued and hungry enough to make very indifferent accommodations agreeable.

Clinton is a town recently laid out, contains ten or twelve houses, and is the seat of DeWitt county: put the two together and we have DeWitt Clinton. It is needless to say that the projectors are Yorkers, and have displayed a rare specimen of American ingenuity in naming towns and counties. Proceeding north, the prairie becomes more rolling and the road better. We passed through two or three belts of timber, in one of which I saw a quantity of stable manure placed along in the road, as we in the east would use gravel, probably because it was less labor to put it there than to cart it out upon the prairie. At the end of 25 miles we came to Bloomington, the seat of McLean county, situated on the edge of the prairie on the north side of Blooming Grove. This is a pleasant, thriving town, containing several good buildings: it has three steam mills, a number of stores, two taverns, and there is the appearance of a good deal of business: lots in town are held at high prices, and tim-

ber land in the grove is valued at from twenty to thirty dollars an acre. Many of the inhabitants are from New England. We spent the remainder of the day and the night at Bloomington, and the next day took the road towards Peoria. We found a very good road through a fine tract of country—rolling timber and prairie alternating, and a pleasant ride of twentyfive miles brought us to the village of Macinaw.[4] While there we had a heavy shower, and after crossing Macinaw river we were overtaken by another hard rain, which compelled us to stop at the first house we came to. I speak of houses, though properly speaking there is very seldom any thing but a log cabin in the country, except in the towns, and there even the greater number of buildings are often cabins. The shelter we obtained this night was in fact a cabin of the "worst kind," but our situation made it as acceptable as a palace would have been in other circumstances. The next morning was cloudy, cold and uncomfortable: we resumed our journey and three miles brought us in view of Tremont, the seat of Tazewell county. We passed the town at the distance of about a mile, and I regretted that we did not take the road through it. After we crossed the Macinaw we began to discover gravel in the hills; the road is generally better, and the water is more palatable than that which we found before. The groves in this vicinity are chiefly white oak and hickory, and as we came near the Illinois river we found a good deal of clay: the road down the bluff is very steep and dangerous. We crossed the river about one o'clock and entered Peoria.

Peoria is beautifully situated on the west side of the river, which at that place makes a bend to the eastward,

[4] Present spelling is Mackinaw.

something less than a semicircle: the bluff comes near to the river, and is covered, as is the narrow strip of bottom land, with a thick growth of timber: on the west side the ground rises gradually to the second bottom, an elevation of twenty or thirty feet, and the town is principally built upon this ascent: the second bottom extends back to the bluff something more than a quarter of a mile: there are a few scattering trees on the face of the bluff, and on top of it are a few houses commanding a fine prospect of the town, ten or twelve miles of the river, and the surrounding country. The prairie stretches back from the bluff a mile perhaps to a belt of timber. On the whole it is the finest site for a town that I ever saw. Peoria contains 1,200 inhabitants, 3 taverns, 25 stores, 1 printing office, and Mr. Huntoon, favorably known at the east, has established a school there which succeeds well, but though the place is pleasant, it is very unhealthy.

After a sojourn of two days we took leave of Peoria, and recrossed the river four miles above the town, into Tazewell county. Soon after a hard rain set in, and we got most thoroughly wet again, and we found no stopping place until we got to a place called Partridge Ridge, 12 miles from Peoria. Here we found comfortable accommodations, and concluded to stop a few days and look about the country. Accordingly the next day we rode around the neighborhood some ten or dozen miles, and called at several farms, among others that of Mr. Buckingham, who had been in the country seven years, has a very large estate, keeps about 100 head of cattle, besides many horses and hogs. He had in his cribs from 1,000 to 2,000 bushels of corn, for which he said he could find no sale even at the low price of 18¾

cents. Winter wheat does not succeed well in this neighborhood; spring grain does well, but corn is their principal crop, and cattle and hogs are their only resource to obtain money. Farming is done in a slovenly manner, labor is high and not easily obtained: female labor hardly to be gotten at any rate. There are no public schools and private schools are rare.

We made another excursion across the prairie eastward to Walnut Grove. On the prairie we passed half a dozen houses which had a desolate appearance and upon inquiry I found that it is the town of Hanover, which contains not a single inhabitant—the last family having moved but some months before, and the post office which had been established there was removed about three miles to a sawmill in the grove, because there was no person left in town to serve as postmaster. At walnut grove we called at the house of a Mr. Curtis and went over his farm. I saw there several pieces of English grass, or as it is called in the west, *tame grass*, and I observed that some of it looked better than the rest, and Mr. Curtis's [*sic*] told me that it had been manured. He uses manure upon all crops, although his prairie is of the best kind, and I saw a great difference between the crops that were manured and those that were not. The prairie will not produce good crops of grass without manure, and Mr. Buckingham told me the same.

A heavy rain kept us within doors on the third day, and the next we rode to Mr. Buckingham's and tarried over night: our fare here was simple but abundant, and we were treated with genuine hospitality. The evening was passed in pleasant conversation before a bright fire, which blazed cheerfully in the huge stone chimney.

Although it was near the last of June, there had been scarcely an evening when a fire was not agreeable, although the day might have been very hot. In the morning we left our host and travelled in the direction of Peru. The country about Crow Creek, which we passed in the forenoon, is very fine: the land is rolling, alternate prairie and barrens, affording some splendid views: the bed of the creek is of pebbles and the water is clear and sparkling.—Oxbow prairie is also very pleasant: we saw there plenty of apples and peaches. North of the Oxbow prairie we came to a little town called Magnolia, containing about twenty houses. About a mile from town we stopped for the night at the house of a Mr. Hawes, who was the first settler in this part of the country. He is located in the edge of the timber near a fine brook, and is the wealthiest man in th[i]s neighborhood.

Our route the next day was over prairie about fourteen miles. We then came to barrens, where we had a bad winding road down to the river, which we crossed with difficulty and entered Peru.

Peru is at present a small town of about 300 inhabitants. It is built principally upon one street, at the foot of the bluff, but being at the head of navigation at low water, and the termination of the canal from Chicago and of the railroad to Dixon's ferry, its prospect for future prosperity is flattering. Leaving Peru we followed a deep ravine in the bluff and came upon the prairie back of the town, where we lost our way, and darkness overtook us upon the open prairie, where we were obliged to pass the night without provisions or a bed; and with bad lodgings, empty stomachs, and musquitoes withal, we had an uncomfortable night enough.

At daybreak we discovered that our horses were gone, and it was not until sunrise that we recovered them and got ready to start, and after wandering some time we got upon the right track and rode to Homer, 10 miles from Peru. Homer is a small town near the Little Vermillion river, in LaSalle county; the day was extremely hot, and we stopped awhile and then rode on four miles to Troy grove. The country around the Little Vermillion is very beautiful, the soil is first rate, and the water good; but yet I was told that it is unhealthy.

The next morning we left Troy grove and entered upon the wide prairie, where wood and water are seldom found:—eight miles brought us to Four mile grove, where we found an excellent spring; thence to Pawpaw grove is six miles. The prairie here is quite high and rolling, even hilly—and the subsoil is gravel; the groves on the contrary are low and flat, occupying the lowest places where there is water, and are heavily timbered.

Between Pawpaw and Four-mile groves we enjoyed the most extensive view that I ever saw upon land: towards the N.W., S.E. and N. E. in the direction of Chicago, there is nothing to intercept the sight for a distance of perhaps from 40 to 60 miles; indeed as far as the sight can extend, nothing but one boundless field of waving grass with here and there a little grove, which appear like little specks of miniature islets upon this vast and verdant ocean. It is a "grand prairie" indeed. In this vast solitude, man with all his power sinks into utter insignificance:—the beholder is astonished—his thoughts expand with his perception—but they will recur to *himself*, and then he feels his nothingness. The least reflecting man is sensible to the grandeur of the

scenery upon the Alleghanies—but here much more so, for the scene is truly sublime.

Four miles from Pawpaw we came to Allen's grove where we stopped for the night, the next house upon our route being sixteen miles. We were now in Ogle county. The land here is not yet surveyed and consequently not in market.

From Allen's our route was to plum grove, seven miles, thence to Brodie's grove, nine miles;—we enjoyed the same unbounded prospect as the day before. As we advance north the prairie becomes drier and more sandy. In the hollows between the swells we found many shallow ponds but no good water in the whole distance. The next house was at Driscol's grove, seven miles, and fearing that night might overtake us we stopped at Brodie's . . . .

As my readers may not be acquainted with the the [*sic*] fare of travellers in the west, I shall be more particular with regard to our accommodations at this place, though I admit that I take an extreme case; but still a pretty good general notion may be gathered from it. Brodie's grove contains from 100 to 200 acres, and there are three families living there whose nearest neighbor is seven miles off, and the nearest mill and grocery is at Belvidere, 23 miles, and in this particular they are better off than many others in the country by nearly a day's ride. For our horses we could obtain neither hay nor grain, but the young men went out into the slough near by, and mowed some coarse grass, which sufficed for our beasts; for ourselves we obtained some new corn bread in the shape of a good thick johnnycake with butter, and a bowl of milk, which we ate, seated on a good oaken bench, it being out of the latitude for chairs, and

while thus employed, a half grown chicken happened in at the open window and laid claim to a share of the butter. Our supper over, we lighted our pipes and began to take a close survey of the premises. The house, or cabin rather, was of the ordinary construction, being about 20 feet square, built of logs locked together at the corners, a door of goodly dimensions in the middle of one side, and a window exactly opposite upon the other side, with a huge fireplace at one end, and at one corner a rude ladder which served as an apology for a staircase leading to the attic story. The cabin had been "chinked and daubed"—that is, the cracks between the logs had been filled with bits of wood and plastered over with clay, but this finish had yielded to the weather, in many places affording very convenient peeping holes, and giving good assurance that the interior was well ventilated at least, and to complete the elegance of the mansion, it was enclosed, according to the fashion of the country, with a worm fence, to keep the hogs and cattle at a respectful distance.

We observed three or four athletic, savage looking fellows, well armed with pistols, who had apparently no business, but were lounging about, amusing themselves with violins, and who were very inquisitive with regard to our route and business, and as they seemed to fancy my friend's horse, he was not a little uneasy lest the said horse might be found absent in the morning. We took care, however, to show no concern, and kept our suspicions to ourselves. Having carefully noticed the whereabout of this den of horse thieves, which in fact it was, we retired early, and ascending the ladder aforesaid, we took possession of a sort of flock-bed upon the floor near a good sized crevice, through which we

could, by the light of the moon, observe all that passed without. Not long after the loafers came up and occupied other beds similar to our own, and about midnight another came from abroad, but finding all full he went away probably to another cabin. Notwithstanding all these circumstances, I was so fatigued with my journey that I could not withstand the attacks of Morpheus, and slept soundly until near sunrise, when we arose and found our horses standing quietly where we had tied them, and hastily putting on their saddles we left and went on our way, grateful that we were still in life and had horses to ride.

I may as well state here that this part of the country is much infested with horse-thieves and counterfeiters,[5] who are supposed to have a line of stations from Wisconsin through Grand prairie and into Missouri; and Driscol's and Brodie's groves are suspected to be two of the principal posts, and never was a country better adapted to such a business than this, these insulated groves separated by smooth open prairie, where a pursuer may be seen at a great distance, giving the rascals ample time to make all snug and to conceal themselves and their plunder by day and to escape by easy stages at night.

We breakfasted late at Driscol's grove, then pursuing our journey, four miles brought us to the south branch of the Kishwaukie [Kishwaukee]. This is a rapid and very clear stream. From thence to Belvidere on the north branch is twelve miles, most of the way over high rolling prairie. From the top of a hill four miles from town is one of the finest prospects in the country. We observed two men following us on the prairie, whom we lost

[5] See Edward Bonney, *The Banditti of the Prairies* (Chicago, [1850]).

sight of as we descended the hill south of Belvidere. Instead of going into the village we turned to the right and went two and a half miles up the river to my friend's house;—the next morning we learned that two saddles had been stolen in the village, very probably by the fellows that followed us; but our horses were safe in my friend's stable.

Belvidere, the seat of Boon[e] county, is prettily situated on the edge of Sq[u]aw prairie, which was an old Indian settlement, on the north branch of the Kishwaukie or Sycamore river. At present the village is not large but it is gaining fast, being in one of the finest sections of country in the west, and on the State road from Chicago to Galena, it bids fair to become an important town. It has a small church, an academy handsomely situated on a mound near the centre of the village, two public houses, several stores, two sawmills, and a flour mill. On the mound the skeleton of Big Thunder, a celebrated Indian chief, is still to be seen in a sitting posture, within a small stockade erected by the natives.

The country about the Kishwaukie is chiefly oak openings or barrens, though there is no lack of prairie of the best kind, and immediately on the river there is considerable meadow or bottom land, too low for cultivation, but the soil is firm and very well adapted for grass, and the settlers depend upon these bottoms for all their hay. The Piskasaw [Piscasaw], a beautiful stream from the north, enters the Kishwaukie one and a half mile east from Belvidere. The water of these streams is clear and sparkling, the current quick, and the beds hard gravel and pebbles. The water of the wells in this section is clear and pleasant, and free from all impurities except lime, with which all the water in the

whole western country is impregnated. I stopped in this neighborhood about a fortnight, making observations and collecting information about the country, the substance of which I shall give in another place.

In company with a gentleman from Massachusetts who arrived a day or two after I did, by a different route, I made an excursion into Wisconsin. Leaving Belvidere we followed the Galena road to Beaver creek, then turning north we rode through a fine country of alternate barrens and pra[i]rie, affording many very beautiful prospects, to Beloit, at the mouth of the Turtle river which enters Rock river exactly on the line of the state and territory. Here is a thriving little town, having several mills in active operation, 22 miles from Belvidere: thence we passed up on the east side of Rock river six miles and stopped for the night: it was near the middle of July and the weather very warm, and the heat and the musquitoes, which were of the "tallest kind," caused us a rather uncomfortable night.

Early in the morning we started and following the river, at the end of a mile came to the bed of an ancient river, about the present size of Rock river, tending to the eastward. Crossing this, our route was over high prairie, which is uniformly about four to six miles wide, and at that distance from the river the land appears to rise and is covered with wood. After riding six miles the road leads into a ravine, where we missed our way and followed another road up the ravine a short distance, when we found that it turned eastward, where it presented the perfect outlines of an ancient riverbed: there were bluffs upon each side and numerous gulleys worn out by the water, and its course curved towards the south and no doubt is a part of the same we saw below,

and from all appearances it is probable that at some time the Rock river meeting with obstructions at the sugar loaf mountain, which is just below, made a circuit to the eastward, something in the form of an oxbow, and came into its present course about five miles below. Finding that we were wrong, we turned back and with some difficulty found our way to Janesville, a paltry little town with only one good house. We there forded the river, the water being about five feet deep and wetting our saddles; we then followed the road on the west side of the river towards Madison, whither we intended to go. There is a belt of timber, chiefly burr oak barrens, next to the river, then there is a strip of prairie about five miles wide and parallel to the river, and on the west the prairie is bounded by a grove of timber. These features continue nine or ten miles to the junction of the River of the Lakes: there are no inhabitants and the travel is not sufficient to kill the grass, excepting a narrow path resembling an Indian trail. We had been directed at Janesville to keep the plainest track, and when we came near the River of the Lakes it turned more than we thought it ought, but we saw no other track and therefore followed it. Before we had travelled far, the track turned more to the left and out of the course for Madison, until we found ourselves travelling S. W. We were certain that we were going wrong, but there was no person within ten miles of whom we could enquire the way, so we concluded to follow the track lead where it might: as our only business was to see the country, it was little matter where we went. Our route led through a pleasant district of prairie and timber until we came to Sugar river, where we met a traveller with a horse and wagon, of whom we inquired where we were and

whither the road led. He informed us that we were upon the public square of the town of Centreville, 25 miles from Janesville and on the road to Mexico. In travelling this distance we had seen no person nor found any water: our traveller informed us of a spring at Sugar creek, a smaller stream four miles further, and that three or four miles beyond that we would find inhabitants.

Centreville was laid down upon our map as a large town having several roads leading from it in different directions, but in fact the town exists only upon paper, not a tree having been cut, nor any trace of civilized man being seen, and the only road was the indistinct trail which we had been following. We forded the river, here about three feet deep, and rode on to the creek where we found the spring which the traveller had described, and about sunset we brought up at the hospitable cabin of an old Pennsylvanian, where we were kindly entertained after a ride of about 45 miles, without refreshment of any kind except water.

Our host had a farm of about 800 acres, which he had lived upon one season only, and had not cultivated a large portion of it, but he had a strong force and was making preparations for producing on a large scale; the family was intelligent and I noticed a good many books and papers which it is not very common to see in a new settler's cabin.

It was late in the morning when we left them: we were now farther from Madison than we were the morning before, and we had lamed one of our horses badly, and therefore we gave up our purpose of going there, and determined to make a circuit by the Pekatonica homewards. Accordingly we rode two or three miles westward to Richland grove, a fine body of timber

land about twelve miles by five in extent, and then struck across the prairie about six miles to Rock grove, where we came into a road leading to Rockford. Passing by this grove we saw a great plenty of fine raspberries, the only berries of any kind that I had seen in the country.

From Rock grove the road runs eastward through a very good tract of country near the boundary of the state and territory. We rode slowly until nearly night when we stopped in a settlement of Vermont people, a number of families of whom had removed together from the same neighborhood and settled here in one of the best farming districts in the country. We had now travelled through Rock and Green counties in Wisconsin and entered Winnebago county in Illinois. As our entertainment was not the most agreeable, we got off early in the morning, and a ride of four miles brought us to Trask's ferry, where we crossed the Pekatonica. This river is a deep muddy stream, and runs through a wide bottom covered with very heavy timber.—From thence to Rockford, 12 miles, our road was over dry rolling prairie without inhabitants, except at a small grove four miles from town: in our ride we met a number of wagons with emigrants from Canada. Rockford is a tolerably pleasant town of 40 or 50 houses on both sides of Rock river, and is the seat of Winnebago county. There is a ferry and a fording place having a smooth rock bottom, with about two or three feet of water; this rock constitutes the principal obstruction to the navigation of the river, and from this the town derives its present name: it was first called Midway, on account of its being half way between Chicago and Galena. Above Rockford the river is navigable about 70 miles.

We crossed the river and dined at the Rockford house, a hotel of considerable pretension; but I never fared poorer at any hotel in my life, nor paid a more extravagant bill; and I would advise travellers to stop at the public house on the other side of the river, where I dare say they will be better served.

The environs of Rockford are very beautiful: the land is gently undulating, the prairie and wood alternating agreeably, and a large portion of the land is fenced and dotted with farm houses: indeed the remark justly applies to the whole country bordering on Rock river: a more beautiful country cannot be imagined. After dinner we again mounted our horses and reached home toward night, having traveller [*sic*] in this excursion about 140 miles.

During the remainder of my stay at Belvidere I spent my time riding about the country, and made acquaintance with a number of people with whom I was pleased so much that I concluded to settle here if anywhere in the west, and purchase a beautiful situation in the neighborhood; but the western fever had been somewhat checked, and I had some misgivings with regard to removing, and resolved to return home and reflect upon the subject, with the assistance of the new light that I had acquired in the course of my travel; and now . . . my readers will accompany me back to New England. . . .

My friend accompanied me to Chicago, whither we rode in a wagon. The country eastward as far as Pleasant grove is very fine and fast filling up: from thence to Fox river there are few inhabitants, and the country is not so pleasant being chiefly dry rolling barrens.

Elgin on Fox river appears to be a growing town,

and is rather pleasantly situated. The river is broad but too shallow to admit of navigation. We rode 12 miles from Elgin that day in a bitter N.E. wind, so cold that we were uncomfortable with cloaks on, and when we stopped for the night, I was quite chilled, and was glad to occupy a seat by a good fire the whole evening.

Early in the morning we resumed our journey and arrived at Chicago about noon. Chicago is situated at the mouth of a small river or creek, and is surrounded by a low flat prairie which extends either way about 10 miles, and in wet seasons the roads in the vicinity are almost impassable: the site of the town is not more than 18 inches above the level of the lake: the location is favorable for business, and the Canal which is now being made hence to Peru, connecting the lakes with Illinois river, will give the town great advantages.

There are some very good buildings in Chicago, particularly the "Lake House," one of the finest hotels in the country; but on the whole the town does not make a good appearance. The population cannot be more than 5,000, though it is often stated much higher. The next morning after my arrival I took passage on board the steamer Gen. Wayne for Buffalo, and at 10 o'clock I took leave of Chicago.

# LITERARY OPPORTUNITIES IN PIONEER TIMES

BY JAY MONAGHAN

IT is commonly alleged that pioneer times were free from torrents of print, "pulpies," and distracting, quick-fire reviews. People of that day, it is said, cherished a few good books, read and reread them until the masterful English became their own. Abraham Lincoln, according to nine out of every ten of his biographers, was reared on a meaty diet of *Aesop's Fables*, *Pilgrim's Progress* and the *Bible* which developed in him a style of expression never since surpassed in the English language. If, however, this lucidity of expression, this Biblical simplicity of style, peculiar to Lincoln and other prominent men of his time, was due to a boyhood ration of a few good books, the fact must not be overlooked that many other publications—pure trash—were available for boys of that day as well as this.

Boys in Lincoln's time certainly had the opportunity to read literature as good as, and much worse than, anything written a hundred years later. The more creditable writers of the middle period are almost too well known to mention—William Cullen Bryant, Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, Oliver Wendell Holmes, James Russell Lowell, John Greenleaf Whittier, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Edgar Allen Poe, Ralph Waldo Emerson—all of them required high school reading in 1940.

Many foreign authors were equally well known in early America. Mark Twain's observation that Sir Walter Scott's influence on the South caused the Civil War, is proverbial. His ante-bellum river ragamuffins, Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn, pretended constantly that they were knights in armor, heroes of Thomas Bulfinch's *Age of Chivalry* no doubt quite as often as of Scott's *Ivanhoe*. They also enacted the roles of various dime-novel heroes of their day. The anecdote about Lincoln, a gawky, barefoot kid during the election of 1828, singing a campaign song manfully out of tune, indicates that Robert Burns, in one form or another, had reached the slashes:

> Let auld acquaintance be forgot
> And never brought to mind.
> May Jackson be our presi-dent
> And Adams left behind.

During Lincoln's short attendance at school at least two books on literature and composition were being used in Kentucky. One of them, Murray's *English Reader*, highly praised by Lincoln in later life, contained extracts from Dr. Johnson, Milton, Addison, Goldsmith, Cowper, Pope, Gray, Gouverneur Morris, John Adams, Hamlet's soliloquy and Cardinal Wolsey's lament. The other, *The Kentucky Preceptor*, a manual of expression, carried on the title page the familiar quotation from Thompson that has perplexed rifle-loving American boys for over a hundred years:

> To teach the young idea how to shoot,
> To pour the fresh instruction o'er the mind.

It is not impossible to imagine little Lincoln's shrill voice among the hundreds of others who have piped,

"If he meant 'sprout' why did he say 'shoot.'" Other books used in Lincoln's school were Lowe's *Columbian Class Book*, Scott's *Lessons in Elocution*, Dupuy's *Song Book*, Bailey's *Etymological Dictionary* and William Grimshaw's *History of the United States* which ran to more than twenty-five editions. This list does not resemble the stark bibliography cited in most of the conventional "Lincoln books," which were generally modeled after William M. Thayer's *The Pioneer Boy and How He Became President*. Thayer was a New England teacher and preacher, and editor of *Mother's Assistant*. He was born in Franklin, Massachusetts and lived and died there. Lincoln's own opinion of Thayer's work may be surmised from the inscription on the title page of the deluxe edition sent by the publisher to the White House. In this volume some member of the household wrote: "The Champion Liar of History."

Had Thayer taken the trouble to investigate the extent of literary appreciation in the West he would have discovered that Charles Dickens was invited to visit the Mississippi Valley the same year that Abe Lincoln floated down the Sangamon to enter a new life as store clerk and postmaster at New Salem. In this log town of 300 inhabitants—including the chickens—it is said that Lincoln began reading Paine, Volney, Voltaire, Rollin and Gibbon. But he "had a more pronounced fondness for fictitious literature, and read with evident relish Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz's novels which were very popular books," wrote Herndon, his law partner, a decade later—a statement not entirely correct. At this time Mrs. Hentz was writing plays and poems. Her novels did not appear until after Lincoln had moved to Springfield. Mrs. Hentz was the wife of a teacher in

a girls' school at Covington, Kentucky when Lincoln was seventeen years old. She had been awarded a $500 prize in a Boston literary contest, indicating that culture was readily accessible in Lincoln's Kentucky. Moving to Cincinnati in 1832, she wrote a dozen or more novels, preferring to work in the same room with her romping children while admiring guests read the script over her shoulder. Sympathetic with the institution of slavery she tried later to write antidotes for *Uncle Tom's Cabin;* their failure, though written by such a popular author, indicates that the influence of Mrs. Stowe's work has been overrated. The reading public, not the authors, it seems, were dictating the sentiments of the times.

In the fifteen years that elapsed between Lincoln's arrival at New Salem and his departure from Springfield as a representative to Congress, most of the current foreign authors became well known in Illinois. Mrs. Trollope, Harriet Martineau and Fanny Kemble all wrote about frontier America in a way that irritated frontier Americans and increased their dislike of English aggression in Oregon, helping to win a presidential election on the basis of "54-40 or fight."

Some idea of the literary propensities of farm boys during these days may be gained by examining the records of the Mexican War in which almost every regiment had its own printing press, scores of typesetters and men with literary ambitions. Linotype machines and heavy publishing equipment have restricted instead of enhanced the opportunity for getting into print. The old fashioned press, besides being portable, had other advantages. In a pinch the type could be rammed into the mouth of a cannon and fired as a final edition

of convincing propaganda.

During the pioneer years a great profusion of literary magazines flooded the land. In 1825, when the population of the entire nation was about three times the size of Chicago in 1939, it is estimated that almost a hundred periodicals, other than newspapers, were being published. By 1850 the population of the United States had a little more than doubled and the number of periodicals had multiplied by six. In 1830 a young lawyer, James Hall, in Vandalia—a pioneer town of 1,000 inhabitants—established the *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, "larger and relatively more expensive than any literary magazine published in Illinois today." Many others followed and a year later Mr. Hall wrote in his issue of April—the same month that Lincoln's flatboat lodged on Rutledge's milldam—"This is the golden age of periodicals." Three years earlier the *New York Mirror* had announced, "The mania for periodicals has extended itself to children," referring, of course, to the five standard juveniles open to subscription, among them the *Youth's Companion* established in 1827 and published until 1929.

The *Knickerbocker*, probably the best adult magazine in the middle period, appeared in 1833. In the more than forty years of its existence, its pages carried stories by most of the distinguished authors from Hawthorne to Bayard Taylor. In this magazine Parkman's *Oregon Trail* first appeared as a serial and another article, "Mocha Dick, or the White Whale," by J. N. Reynolds was published twelve years before Herman Melville printed his famous volume with almost identical title.

Magazines for women abounded. The best known, *Godey's Lady's Book*, making a million for its publisher,

was cherished by all ladies and women aspiring to be such. Probably few publications have succeeded so well in feminine appeal. Its sentimental poems were memorized; its stories read, reread and cried over; its fashions cut out. Its charming colored illustrations were framed in luxurious boudoirs and pinned to the log walls of cabins on the prairies. Each issue, besides being useful for dressmakers, carried a personal message. Correspondence was encouraged. "We have received a note from some fair Lady," wrote the editor, "requesting us to give another description of Love than that found in the February number. This shall be done, and another fair Lady has it now in charge."

Hints were given about such unmentionable things as the complexion. Cornstarch, it was suggested, did wonders for a shiny nose. Housework instead of being despised should be encouraged. It gave a firm contour to arms and shoulders.

Much of this magazine's success was due to its able editor, Mrs. Sarah Josepha Hale, author of the most familiar quotation in the English language, a poem better known than Shakespeare or the *Bible*:

> Mary had a little lamb
> Its fleece was white as snow,
> And everywhere that Mary went
> The lamb was sure to go.

Mrs. Hale, a Bostonian, advocated national adoption of the New England Thanksgiving and was more influential than any other person in getting President Lincoln to establish the last Thursday in November as a holiday. In the spring of 1864 victory for the North seemed doubtful. Another half million men had been called and slaughtered by the tens of thousands at

Petersburg and Spotsylvania. Confederates raided within six miles of Washington. Government credit sank to $2.85 in greenbacks for $1.00 in gold. The war was pronounced a failure and prominent leaders in Lincoln's own party suggested that he resign the nomination for re-election. Then in six weeks it all changed. Farragut steamed into Mobile, Sherman captured Atlanta and Sheridan turned the tide in the Shenandoah. For this Lincoln asked Thanksgiving.

Long before Mrs. Hale rose to fame, Dorothy Dix was known as a popular writer for women who published seven volumes during the 1820's. She was followed by Amelia Bloomer, crusader for women's rights, who as a girl had become enamored of Lord Byron's poems and the Turkish trousers in which he fought for Greek independence in the 1820's. Finding the uniform becoming or convenient, Amelia advocated its adoption by women everywhere. People called it the bloomer costume and Horace Greeley once sat on the same platform when she wore it—under a short skirt. Women's hips worried Amelia and in her paper, *The Lily*, published at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1849 she wrote:

> The infernal multiplicity of skirts bearing solely upon the hips and abdomen . . . is ruining our women. . . .

And again:

> Fashions afford the only hope that spinal complaints, and many other maladies incident to females will be eradicated.

And again:

> Another important consideration which we urge upon our lady readers is the supporting of underskirts by elastic suspenders (the same as those worn by men, and worn in the same manner), instead of letting them rest on the hips.

The feminism of the first half of the nineteenth century logically culminated in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852, and the same decade saw best sellers by Susan Warner, Mrs. S. A. Southworth, Mary Jane Holmes, Maria S. Cummins, Maria J. McIntosh and Augusta J. Evans—forgotten names today but in their time responsible for making the last decade before the Civil War aptly designated the "Feminine Fifties." Rebecca Harding Davis, mother of Richard Harding Davis, whose stories thrilled boys during the Spanish-American War, was a member of this clique.

"The time is now at hand," reported the *Southern Literary Messenger*, "when no gentleman or lady will be guilty of never having written a novel."

Best known today among the editors of ante-bellum women's magazines is Timothy Shay Arthur, publisher of *Arthur's Ladies' Magazine*. As a lad he was so dull in school that he was withdrawn because it took him months to master simple addition. In the 1830's he became associated with Edgar Allen Poe in Baltimore, edited five magazines and wrote *Six Nights with the Washingtonians: a Series of Original Temperance Tales*, later rewritten as *Ten Nights in a Barroom and What I Saw There*, a seller second only to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, dramatized and played throughout the United States for half a century. Dealing also with crime *The Police Gazette* appeared in 1846.

The circulation of magazines during these so-called stark pioneer times is amazing. In the decade of the 1850's Bonner's *New York Ledger*, a literary miscellany designed for the mentality of nursemaids, stableboys, tired business men and bored housewives, claimed weekly sales for 400,000. Tucker's *Country Gentleman*

boasted 250,000, *Leslie's* 164,000, *Godey's* 150,000, with *Harper's* and the *Mercury* in close competition. Thirteen periodicals claimed over 110,000 circulation and these figures should be multiplied by four to conform to the population today. Is it any wonder that Nicholas Biddle, Philadelphia banker and literary connoisseur lamented, before he died, the "crude abundance of the American style?" Obviously no one was limited to a diet of *Aesop's Fables* and *Pilgrim's Progress*.

Books available for the reading public tell a similar story. Novels, pure trash, circulated before Lincoln was born. Such was Susanna Rowson's *Charlotte Temple: a Tale of Truth*, written when Washington was president. Some of these eighteenth century books circulated widely on the frontier and Lincoln, speaking in 1861 at Trenton, where Washington crossed the Delaware, stated casually that as a very small boy he had been impressed by M. L. Weems's *Life of Washington*. He did not state, and probably did not know, that good Parson Weems had enlarged the fifth edition of this biography with a big lie about a little cherry tree in order to influence the rising generation to tell the truth. While the Lincolns were in Kentucky, Parson Weems wrote several other books and many tracts, such as *God's Revenge Against Gambling* and the *Drunkard's Looking Glass*. The *Bad Wife's Looking Glass* appeared while the Lincolns were living in Indiana. Weems was a literary Johnnie Appleseed, an itinerant book agent who believed he could best serve the Lord by planting printed matter in cabins and plantations from the Potomac to the Altamaha. Besides vending his own productions he carried the standard works of Goldsmith, William Guthrie, William Burkit, James Her-

vey, Edward Montagu, William Coxe, Henry Hunter and others.

Another American writer of popular history with whom Lincoln was familiar was David Ramsay, author of at least ten worthless volumes before Abraham was seven years old. A more enduring writer, William Cullen Bryant, at the age of fourteen saw his first work go to two editions, the same year Lincoln was born. "To a Waterfowl" was written in 1815, and "Thanatopsis" in 1811. In 1817 James Riley's *Narrative of the Loss of the American Brig Commerce* appeared and it soon reached unprecedented circulation. Years later Lincoln spoke of it as one of his favorite boyhood books. The yarn dealt with shipwrecked sailors paradoxically enslaved on the coast of Africa. Any thoughtful boy who read it could never again be convinced by southern propaganda that slavery was a positive good, merely a convenient method of regulating menial labor, a solution of the race problem, and that slaves were better cared for than freemen. It is significant too, that abolition became a political issue while this book was at the height of its popularity.

Other well-known authors, whose popularity had less political significance, were William and Washington Irving, who wrote good prose in a series of satirical booklets, *Salmagundi; or the Whim-Whams and Opinions of Lancelot Langstaff, Esq., and Others*. In 1809, Washington Irving was working on *Knickerbocker's History of New York* when his sweetheart was stricken down. "She died in the flower of her youth and in mine but she has lived for me ever since in womankind. I see her in their eyes."

This was the vear in which Abraham Lincoln was

born in a cabin in Kentucky. After his bereavement Irving visited Sir Walter Scott in Scotland, tramped with gun and dogs across the moors, discussing the opportunities in a literary career. Scott, it was said, convinced him that America's literary future belonged to painters of realistic backwoods themes, not to imitators who would picture Roderick Dhu with a tomahawk and the Lady of the Lake in a canoe. In 1820 Irving wrote *Rip Van Winkle*. Twelve years later he accompanied a western expedition to study Indians; this was in the same year that Lincoln was elected captain to fight them. *A Tour on the Prairies*, *Astoria*, and *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville* were the fruits of this trip. An associate of Irving's on the *Salmagundi* papers, James K. Paulding, visited the West a few years later (1842). Scheduled to stop at Springfield, muddy roads delayed him at Rochester, Illinois, and young Mr. Lincoln, the promising lawyer, rode out to meet the celebrity. In the tavern they told each other stories until the "wee sma' " hours and after sunup traveled into the capital together. Paulding was a realist, famous for deflating Scott and Byron, a man who wrote too much and revised too little to survive. His characters John Bull and Brother Jonathan have lived. His *Westward Ho*! was written twenty years before Kingsley's novel appeared with a similar title.

A review of the popular writers of this period is not complete without a few words about James Fenimore Cooper, author of good sea stories that are forgotten and bad Indian stories that have lived. Cooper's lasting popularity began shortly after the death of Daniel Boone in 1820. With timely artfulness the great frontiersman was made to live again as Natty Bumppo in

*The Deerslayer* and *The Last of the Mohicans*. Cooper was at the peak of his fame, turning out books almost yearly, while Lincoln was living at New Salem. His Leather-Stocking field had many imitators long since forgotten, whose Indians, like Cooper's, all moralized for pages about the beauties of Nature and the sins of white men, until a contemporary critic complained: "The 'abrogynes' are not in the habit of making interminable speeches, they leave that to white members of Congress."

Among these early authors of Indian stories was William L. Stone who knew his subject intimately and was pointed out by the reviewers as "one of the best Indian writers in the country." Other tales circulating widely in the West were written about Mike Fink in the droll story lingo Lincoln loved. Mike did everything any other man could do and then whipped the other man. His rollicking exclamations became part of the language. "I'll be fly-blowed before sundown to a dead moral certingty. I'm a Salt River roarer! I'm a ring-tailed squealer! I'm a regular screamer from the ol' Mississip'." Within ten years cartoons were lampooning Henry Clay when he failed to get the western vote, as being up "Salt Crick without a paddle."

The 1830's also saw the publication of four Davy Crockett books in the vernacular. Crockett, a backwoods Whig politician, immortalized the parliamentary rejoinder: "The honorable gentleman is barking up the wrong tree." Correct spelling he believed was "contrary to nature." Crockett volumes were full of humor designed to convince the West that it could be master of any situation. At a fashionable dinner, Davy, when served a "fluffy flip" for dessert remarked to his hostess,

"I snapped at it twice but missed both times." In the western states Fink and Crockett humor was capitalized politically in the "log cabin campaign" of 1840 that elected a Whig president.

The Crockett vernacular was used again in one of the great sellers of the middle period, *Horse Shoe Robinson*, which first appeared in 1835 and was revised and reprinted in 1852. The author, John P. Kennedy, three times member of Congress and Secretary of the Navy under Fillmore, was proposed as a running mate for Abraham Lincoln in the 1860 campaign. Scribbling most of the seventy-five years of his life, Kennedy's "Horse Shoe Robinson" is remembered as the quaint hero of a historical novel of the Revolution vouched for by the hero himself who stated, "It's all true and right—in its right place—excepting about them women."

Another writer widely quoted by the rail-splitters was Samuel Woodworth, author of a war novel in 1816, *The Champions of Freedom*. Associated with him on the New York *Mirror* was Colonel, later General George Morris, a militia officer five feet two in height, whose *Little Frenchman and His Water Lots*, was well known in the thirties and who is remembered a hundred years later for his poem which begins:

> Woodman, spare that tree!
> Touch not a single bough!
> In youth it sheltered me
> And I'll protect it now.

Woodworth, besides being an editor and novelist was also a playwright, the George M. Cohan of his generation. His *Forest Rose*, produced in 1825, enjoyed the longest run of any American play before the Civil War. His poem "The Bucket," better known as "The

Old Oaken Bucket," was put to music and sung by quartets on variety and chautauqua stages for three-quarters of a century. But the poem that immortalized him in the West was "The Hunters of Kentucky" a ballad of Jackson's victory at New Orleans:

> And if a daring foe annoys,
> No matter what his force is,
> We'll show him that Kentucky boys
> Are Alligator-horses.

This rhyme, set to the music of "Love Laughs at Locksmiths," was sung by the actor Noah Ludlow in hunting shirt and squirrel rifle at the old French Theatre in New Orleans. The pit was filled with flatboat boys from the upper country "havin' 'em a time" and Ol' Noahy was greeted with "a prolonged whoop, or howl, such as Indians give when they are especially pleased."

Young Lincoln, a stripling when he visited New Orleans, has been reported by biographers not present, to have improved his time in the Crescent City by shaking his fist at a slave market. What he really did will never be known. Other boys of his age reveled in the show and tramped back up the Natchez Trace to their cabins on the Ohio whiling away weary hours chanting as much as they could remember of the song:

> That every man was half a horse
> And half an alligator.

Somehow the tune stuck in the minds of young men along the creek-beds. They wanted to dress and act like "Noahy" Ludlow. Politicians echoed the theme-song and when Henry Clay failed once more to reach the presidency, cartoonists pictured him astride the alligator-horse—the western vote—trying to ride it to

the White House. "Ol' Noahy" was a well-known figure in the log cabin West before he opened in New Orleans. For eleven years following 1815, he had been playing in barns, taverns, tobacco sheds and mills along the Ohio, through Kentucky, down the Mississippi. By 1835 he had became wealthy and he spent the next eighteen years managing theatres in Cincinnati, St. Louis, Mobile and New Orleans. Another player in the 1820's who began his stage career trouping Ohio River towns was Edwin Forrest, first American-born actor to gain international recognition. And another, Joe Jefferson, beloved as Rip Van Winkle and veteran of seventy-one years on the stage, spent the first twenty-three of them barnstorming log towns from pioneer Chicago to Nashville, Tennessee, and beyond. He requested a permit to play in Springfield, Illinois, in 1839. Young lawyer Lincoln pleaded his case and swapped a few stories. Jenny Lind was also so well known in river towns down the Ohio, up the Cumberland and the Tennessee, that negroes on plantations chanted:

Come the jubilee
We'll all be free
An' white as Jenny Lin'
Halleluiah!!

Of all the itinerant actors, the most unusual were the black-faced comedians—the Sable Harmonists one troup was called—who played the back-country without props, scenery or elaborate costumes, as befitted wandering minstrels. The typical minstrel show, as it is known in America, probably originated in the midlands. For these performances Stephen Foster, knowing practically nothing of the deep South, wrote "Swanee River," "Uncle Ned," "The Old Folks at Home,"

"Massa's in de Cold, Cold Ground," "My Old Kentucky Home," "Oh Susannah," "Nellie was a Lady," and "Old Dog Tray." Evidently popular songs were originating in the Lincoln country. Even "Dixie" was a minstrel tune, written by an Ohioan, Daniel Decatur Emmett, who as a boy had run away from home with a circus. It is also pertinent to remember that one of Lincoln's most prized boyhood possessions was Quinn's *Jests or the Facetious Man's Pocket Companion*, a variety stage joke book.

More serious literary production could be found in pioneer libraries and the collections of literary societies. Students interested in history read the works of Hildreth, Bancroft, Prescott, and Motley—three of them acceptable historians a hundred years later. Historical fiction after the manner of Sir Walter was attempted by many authors, notably by Henry William Herbert, an expatriated British nobleman, whose reckless moustache would have enhanced one of Scott's staghounds. Under the pen name of Frank Forester, Herbert's *Oliver Cromwell*, his *Roman Traitor* and *Twice Married, a Tale of Saxon Slavery in Sherwood Forest*, were all widely read, the first being published by Harpers in 1834. *Marmaduke Wyvil; or the Maid's Revenge* went to ten editions but Frank Forester is best remembered for his contributions to sporting literature such as "My Shooting Box," *Field Sports of the United States, Fish and Fishing, Horse and Horsemanship*. In 1835 he experimented with planting quail on New Jersey farms. In hunting stories for *Putnam's* and as editor for *Leslie's*, he pointed out the pleasure to be derived by small companies of "gentlemen" who might lease exclusive shooting privileges and follow his example. English technicalities of sportsman-

ship were prescribed and pedagogic rules were laid down for the hunt. Even the staid *Knickerbocker*, far removed from the pioneer belief that men hunted for food, could not restrain a gentle satire:

GIVE THE SQUIRREL A CHANCE

It is not sporting except to hunt squirrels with pistol ignited by sun glass. Success entails a combination of circumstances the squirrel motionless, aim correct, no cloud blowing before the sun.

Henry Herbert's most intimate friend, W. T. Porter, was the greatest sports editor of the age. His *Spirit of the Times*, America's first outdoor magazine published in 1831 remains a classic; his *American Turf Register*, the most accurate source for sporting statistics a hundred years ago. Porter was a man of giant stature, six feet, four inches of trunk and limb, with brain to match. No one of his time or since, it is said, has had so many records, sports figures and anecdotes on his tongue's end. And what was more he could write. Thumb through the yellow pages of his magazine and see. Here is an item: "No horse ever went a mile in a minute, although it was alleged of Flying Childers. Such a feat is impossible, for it would require a horse to have a stride of 90 feet, and perform it once in every second." A hundred years of selective breeding has not produced such a race horse—or such a reporter!

The two great sportsmen, Herbert and Porter, died the same year Lincoln and Douglas engaged in their great debate. Herbert had married twice, the second adventure going on the rocks within two months. Despondent, he invited friends to a great banquet. Unfortunately only one attended and after the meal the Britisher stood before a pier glass and shot himself. W. T. Porter, in poor health at the time, but working

diligently on a biography of his friend, collapsed. Within two months he, too, was dead. One of Herbert's books on fishing is on the Congressional Library list of volumes charged to Lincoln during his presidency. Of course it must have been borrowed for Tad or John Hay, perhaps for Mrs. Lincoln.

The writings of these sportsmen were not aimed at the frontier and it is probable that their greatest circulation in the West was in the larger towns and among the high-hatted, swivel-eyed gentry who lived by their wits on steamboats. Backwoodsmen, rivermen of the Clary Grove ilk, with whom Lincoln had associated in his youth, probably bought little literature and when they did, then as now, it is also probable that they bought it by the pound, eager to get the "most readen" for their money. This demand was met a hundred years ago as it is met today. The dime-novel had not yet come into existence but the "bit (12½c) nouvellette" selling also at ten for a dollar, tempted boys bound on long flatboat trips, or contemplating a lonely winter in a wilderness clearing.

The dime-novel's granddaddy and the great granddaddy of the wild west "pulpie" was a Yankee school teacher, Professor J. H. Ingraham, who as a boy shipped before the mast, fought in a South American revolution, and became professor of modern languages at Jefferson College at Washington, Mississippi, where he augmented his salary with adventure literature which has probably never been exceeded in either quantity or quality for sheer worthlessness by any writer living or dead, excepting only his son, Prentiss Ingraham, who after the Civil War contributed 600 volumes to Americana—a third of them about Buffalo Bill.

In order to understand the appeal of J. H. Ingraham's style, one of his novels, *The Sunny South; or the Southerner at Home*, deserves to be quoted at some length. The heroine tells a brutal story of being attacked in a southern forest by a deer. Here is the narrative as written by Ingraham:

> It was a moment of intense excitement. It was like a battle commencing, with the foe charging! I did not feel fear, but excitement! My pulse bounded! My heart leaped with heroic springs! My spirit caught the wild inspiration of the scene! . . . Instantly I levelled my pretty little bird gun and fired. I saw the beautiful animal leap into the air, the red blood pouring down its snow-white breast, and plunge forward headlong at my feet. I sunk almost insensible, upon the warm body. . . . Judge my happiness when it was found that the doe was not mortally wounded. . . . I have the pleasure of assuring you that it is rapidly convalescing, and it seems to be grateful to me for riding over every day to see how it fares.

This novel was followed by *Lafitte, the Pirate of the Gulf; Captain Kyd: or the Wizard of the Sea; The Dancing Feather: or, the Amateur Freebooters*, and *Burton, or the Sieges*, a romance concerning the early life of Aaron Burr inscribed to S. S. Prentiss, Esq. of Mississippi. To Ingraham, Sargent Prentiss was the beau ideal of the South—his first friend and his hero to the last. An orator and statesman, all but idolized by the Natchez planters, Prentiss was a past master of the gentleman's code. Of him, it was said he would endorse a friend's note without looking at its face, but with an enemy when his honor was affronted, he could lay down a hand at poker, fight a duel, and return without forgetting the number of cards dealt to a single player. America's first dime-novelist christened his son for this mentor. Yet strange as it may seem fire-eating Prentiss, like Ingraham, was New England born. The son, Prentiss Ingraham, reared

in the grafted tradition of these two Yankees, fought for the Confederacy and other lost causes in Austria, Cuba, Africa and Crete. Returning at last to write dime-novels, he is remembered on Broadway as a rather seedy old gentleman in threadbare frock coat, broad planter's hat, white moustache and goatee faintly redolent of mint juleps, drawling of "Culpeppah coat-house" as to the manor born.

Ingraham, the elder, had become deeply religious before he died in 1861. Taking orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1855, he was appointed rector of St. Thomas Hall, a school for boys, but the urge to write was still in him and he found time to dash off *The Pillar of Fire; or, Israel in Bondage*, followed by *The Prince of the House of David: or, Three Years in the Holy City* and *The Throne of David*, great tomes running to 600 pages each, written in his most blood-curdling dime-novel style and selling like Aunt Jemima's pancakes in shop and plantation, woodyard and levee, neck and neck with *Ten Nights in a Barroom*, second only to *Uncle Tom.*

Following in the footsteps of the elder Ingraham, Edward Zane Carroll Judson, alias Ned Buntline, fathered the penny dreadful. Truthfully it has been said that for "strength, activity and a capacity for mischief he was equivalent to his weight in wild oats." None of his heroes survived more hair-raising and impossible situations than the author. To him is attributed the lightning pickup of modern literature. Scott and Dickens, Irving and Cooper might spend the first chapter on description and explanation. Buntline and his followers tried a different approach: "Bang! Bang! Bang! Three shots rang out on the midnight air. . . ." Now, they said, go on with the story.

Like Ingraham, Buntline had gone to sea when a boy. At the age of fifteen President Van Buren commissioned him midshipman for heroism in a wreck. On his first assignment, the other "middies," young snobs owing their appointments to social prestige, refused to mess with a man who had come to the quarter-deck "through the hawse hole." Like one of his own heroes, Judson promptly challenged the entire mess and pinked them one by one, disposing of four at various ports of call, New Orleans, Havana, and others. The captain became apprehensive and to forestall further casualties ordered a shooting match on deck at a bottle hung from the yardarm. Judson's first shot broke the target. His second cut the string to the bottle neck. A Sir Walter Scott hero could have done no better. The balance of his mess asked to be excused from pending engagements of honor and elected him commissary chief with extra shore leave and exemption from onerous duties.

During the long lazy hours on deck in the Caribbean, Judson wrote stories signed Buntline—the rope reinforcing the bottom of a square sail—and sent them to magazines. One was accepted by the *Knickerbocker* and gained wide popularity. Judson resigned to devote his life to literature.

In 1844, Kilmer Kent Jones established a literary journal, *The Gem of the Prairie*, in Chicago, a growing town of 8,000. Judson decided to outdo him with a better magazine at Cincinnati. The only thing lacking for his venture was the necessary cash which Judson soon acquired from Lucius A. Hine, a well-to-do student at the law school. Hine's father had succeeded as a farmer where Thomas Lincoln had failed but he used less judgment than Thomas when he sent his son to law

school instead of down the Sangamon in a flatboat. Young Hine, on the farm, had read extensively the works of Horace Greeley and Robert Owen. Social inequalities worried him and he longed to serve humanity. With Buntline the opportunity now appeared and the two boys became partners in *The Western Literary Journal and Monthly Magazine*, soliciting and receiving contributions from the highest priced talent in the West—Julia L. Dumont, Albert Pike, Thomas H. Shreve, Emerson Bennett, W. Gilmore Simms whose romance of colonial America, *Yemassee*, is said to be the best historical novel ever written. Broad-minded in policy the *Journal* presented radical as well as conservative essays, the standpat doctrines of Donn Piatt appearing side by side with the poetical liberalism of William D. Gallagher's gospel of Christian socialism. Like the *Knickerbocker* in New York the *Journal* became known for high standards and independent criticism—but it failed financially and Judson went to Canada leaving Hine to pay the bills.

War with England for "all of Oregon or none" seemed imminent and a roving correspondent like Judson might get good copy at Quebec. But instead of getting a story he got into a duel as second for another American correspondent who shot it out with a red coated officer of the Guard. Affairs of honor were strictly forbidden by Canadian law so the Americans hurried back to the United States, where Buntline at Nashville, Tennessee, killed a man and in his turn was shot at during the hearing. Jumping out of the window he ran to the hotel amid a rain of bullets, "hit by only three," he reported later with good-natured cheerfulness. The mob chased him to the top of the hotel where

he jumped from a window to the ground, "forty-seven feet and three inches (measured)"—attention to details characterizes great reporters! The stunned man was taken to jail, where he revived in time to be dragged out by the mob and hanged in the public square. Friends smuggled his body to a steamboat. From Pittsburgh he corrected erroneous newspaper accounts of the lynching. "The rope did not break," he reported, "it was cut."

Back in New York books flowed from his lightning pen, *King of the Sea, a Tale of the Fearless and Free; Queen of the Sea, Or, Our Lady of the Ocean; The Red Revenger: or, the Pirate King of the Floridas; The Black Avenger of the Spanish Main*—dozens of them. His greatest work, *The Mysteries and Miseries of New York*, appeared in five volumes in 1848, sold upwards of 100,000 copies and was translated into Danish. Before the work was completed he was put under bond to keep the peace, having been caught "cocked and primed for a street fight." Dropping out of sight for a time he explored a limestone cave at Eddyville, south of Paducah, Kentucky, but returned in time to finish his fourth and fifth volumes within the year.

"I once wrote a book of 600 and ten pages in sixty-two hours," Buntline said. "During that time I scarcely ate or slept." He boasted:

> I never lay out plots in advance. I shouldn't know how to do it, for how can I know what my people may take it into their heads to do? First I invent a title. When I hit a good one I consider the story about half finished. It is the thing of prime importance. After I begin I push ahead as fast as I can write, never blotting out anything I have once written and never making a correction or modification. . . . If a book does not suit me when I have finished it, I simply throw it in the fire, and begin again without any reference to the discarded text.

His work showed it and he might have added that he was always eager to get through and into more mischief. After completing the *Mysteries*, he visited the Astor Place Opera House where he lead a mob in a riot that was dispersed by the military with artillery killing 34 people and wounding 141. For this escapade Buntline was sentenced to a year in jail. It gave him time to catch up on his writing. St. Louis was the next city to be favored by this François Villon of American letters. In the election of 1852, he patrolled the streets with a bobtailed army of 5,000 rioters, keeping the polls open to all who wished to "vote honestly" until his horse was shot from under him. Arrested again, he skipped bail, crossed the Mississippi and settled at Carlyle in Clinton County, Illinois. In this idyllic region Thoreau would have loved, Judson sought literary calm publishing *Buntline's Novelist and Carlyle's Prairie Flower*. In 1857 he got religion, with his usual enthusiasm, at a spiritualist seance. Temperance had always appealed to him and he started lecturing on the subject throughout both West and East until his health, weakened from excessive drinking, caused him to retire to a cabin in the Adirondacks where he could write without disturbance. From this retreat came the poem reproduced in circulars advertising summer resorts for two generations:

> Where the silvery gleam of the rushing stream
> Is so brightly seen on the rock's dark green,
> Where the white pink grows by the wild red rose
> And the bluebird sings till the welkin rings
> This is my home—my wildwood home.

Except for a feud with a guide that threatened to become fatal, a few quarrels that he took up for neighbors

too weak to defend themselves, a midwinter encounter with wolves and a fire that demolished his camp, Judson's literary reverie was undisturbed until he enlisted in the Civil War and distinguished himself for gallantry in action, insubordination, and absence without leave. Wounded at least twice he was discharged with a record thoroughly bad, had himself photographed in a colonel's uniform sitting in Lincoln's chair at Brady's studio, signed an exclusive contract with a New York publisher at $20,000 per year, built a house on the Hudson highlands and a yacht on the river. In prosperity as in adversity his work never diminished, some 400 volumes being attributed to his pen. In 1886 he died, suffering from sciatica, heart disease and old wounds, but writing diligently, even cheerfully, to the end. His saddled horse with boots reversed in the stirrups followed him to the grave.

Although Ned Buntline was America's greatest dime-novelist the honor of being the author of the first saffron paper-back, the original yellow-back Beadle, with the emblem of the ten-cent piece on the cover, was reserved for a woman, Mrs. Ann Sophia Winterbotham Stephens, editor of *The Ladies' Companion* and *The Ladies' World*, and remembered for two generations as author of a book and play, *The Old Homestead*. Many of her novels, bound in boards, sold for $1.50. In Europe she was entertained by Thackeray and Dickens as a literary personage. Her first dime-novel, *Malaeska; the Indian Wife of the White Hunter*, although a prize story, was not a masterpiece. Ten pages were consumed getting the hero into a situation where he could say, "Touch but a hair of her head, and by the Lord that made me, I will bespatter that tree with your brains."

Buntline could have done it in a paragraph.

Other writers, too numerous to mention, followed the pattern, and dime-novels became a characteristic literary form of the Civil War era. Small enough to be inconspicuous in a coat pocket, or unnoticed in a geography book in school, they could also be read behind a high-backed pew in church. Their popularity became so great that Henry Ward Beecher and others preached against the evil, making it more sweet. The little books went to the soldier camps in bales, like hay. Shipped on freight cars, wagons and canal-boats, exchanged between pickets, they were buried in the pockets of dead heroes. Seward and Lincoln both read them with avidity.

Unpleasant as it may be to admit, no one can consider the long list of writers, good, bad and indifferent, that graced and disgraced America's middle period, and still believe that such masterpieces of the English language as the Gettysburg Address and the Second Inaugural were the product of lonely communion with a few fundamentals on a stark frontier. It is easier to believe that they were the crowning glory of the most energetic and undisciplined era of literary production in the history of America.

# CHARLES REYNOLDS MATHENY PIONEER SETTLER OF ILLINOIS (1786-1839)

BY T. WALTER JOHNSON

American development has exhibited not merely advance along a single line, but a return to primitive conditions on a continually advancing frontier line, and a new development for that area. American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. This perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating American character.

—FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER,
*The Frontier in American History.*

THE career of Charles R. Matheny, commencing in upland Virginia and extending through Kentucky to the prairies of Illinois, illustrates the fluidity of American life, the expansion westward, and the return to primitive conditions of an advancing frontier line. It also demonstrates the change in Illinois from frontier conditions to a more stable social order. In the process of evolution from a primitive society, there was conflict within Illinois among the settlers as a result of the different backgrounds from which they came. Different points of view, different customs, and different institutions produced in older sections—the Lowland South, the Upland South, the Middle States, and New England—merged in the Old Northwest to

create a new section and a new sectional culture.[1] Mr. Matheny's career is representative of the importance of the Upland South to the Territory and State of Illinois.

Charles, son of James and Diana Beasley Matheny, was born in Loudoun County, Virginia, on March 6, 1786. Sometime previous to this date, James Matheny and his family had moved from Stafford County in the Tidewater to Loudoun County, in the Piedmont region.[2] Three years after the birth of Charles, James Matheny, his wife, and two other sons journeyed to Kentucky in search of better farming country. They crossed the Allegheny Mountains from the Shenandoah Valley through the Cumberland Gap and settled down in the neighborhood of Harrodsburg, Kentucky.[3] The tormenting difficulties which beset the Matheny family on this journey have not been recorded for posterity, but Peter Cartwright has described a similar journey in the following words:

> It was an almost unbroken wilderness from Virginia to Kentucky at that early day, and this wilderness was filled with thousands of hostile Indians, and many thousands of the emigrants to Kentucky lost their lives by these savages. There were no roads for carriages at that time, and although the emigrants moved by thousands, they had to move on pack horses. . . . The fall my father moved, there were a great many families who joined together for mutual safety, and started for Kentucky. Besides the two

[1] John D. Barnhart, "The Southern Influence in the Formation of Illinois," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXXI, no. 3 (Sept., 1939), 358-59.

[2] Overwharton Parish Record (Stafford County, Va.), 123; I have made no attempt to trace the background of the Matheny family. Apparently they came originally to Virginia as indentured servants. In the possession of Willard R. Matheny, 33 N. LaSalle St., Chicago, there are two genealogical charts. One traces the family back to Kent County, England, and the other to an ancient French family, which emigrated to England before coming to the colony of Virginia in the seventeenth century. The latter account was published in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, March 22, 1937. Newton Bateman and Paul Selby, eds., *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois* (Chicago, 1920), 355.

[3] Bateman and Selby, *Hist. Ency. of Ill. and Hist. of Sangamon County* (Chicago, 1912), II: pt. II, p. 1,421.

hundred families thus united, there were one hundred young men, well armed, who agreed to guard these families through, and, as a compensation, they were to be supported for their services. After we struck the wilderness we rarely travelled a day but we passed some white persons, murdered and scalped by the Indians going to or returning from Kentucky.[4]

From the date of this journey to Kentucky (1789) to the year 1805, there is no information about Charles R. Matheny or his family. In 1805, at the western conference held in Scott County, Kentucky, he was received into the Methodist Episcopal Church as a circuit rider, and was appointed to the Illinois Circuit in the Cumberland District. The Illinois Circuit, embracing the few scattered settlements within the bounds of the present counties of Madison, St. Clair, and Monroe, had been organized in 1804. When Matheny took charge of the Illinois Circuit, there were 120 members.[5] At the conclusion of one year's service as a circuit rider Matheny was retired at his own request.[6] The reason for this decision is not known, but it was likely a result of Matheny's desire to rear a family, a difficult task on a circuit rider's salary.

Although he resigned as a circuit rider, he retained his interest in the Methodist Church in St. Clair County and later in Sangamon County, after he moved there in 1821. His status permitted him to preach in his own and neighboring communities and to organize new class meetings until the regular circuit rider could appear on the scene. In 1807, William McKendree, the

[4] W. P. Strickland, ed., *Autobiography of Peter Carturight* (London, 1859), 1.

[5] *Minutes of the Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, I: 134, 137, 319. J. Scripps, writing in the *Western Christian Advocate*, Dec. 20, 1842, states that there were 187 members in 1806, and that Matheny added 110 new members.

[6] James Leaton, *History of Methodism in Illinois from 1793 to 1832* ([Cincinnati], 1883), 45. Matheny's name does not appear in the *Minutes of the Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church* after his retirement in 1806.

presiding elder of the Cumberland District, Jesse Walker, the circuit rider for the Illinois Circuit of this district, Charles Matheny, and a number of other preachers conducted a three-day revival at a camp meeting ground known as Three Springs. There were tents and log-pens covered with clapboards to accommodate some fifty families. One of the preachers, in describing this camp meeting, has left a record of the religious enthusiasm engendered by the frontier preachers:

> At three o'clock, while Brother Goddard and I were singing a hymn, an awful sense of the divine power fell on the congregation. . . . Looking around upon the scene, and listening to the sobs, groans, and cries of the penitents, reminded me of a battlefield after a heavy battle. All night the struggle went on. Victory was on the Lord's side; many were converted, and by sunrise next morning there was the shout of a king in the camp.[7]

Matheny was a leader in the organization of the Methodist Church at Shiloh in St. Clair County. In 1806, a log house was erected to serve as a church building. He contributed $10 toward the cost of constructing a brick church, built in 1817. This Shiloh Church is the oldest Methodist Church in Illinois from the standpoint of continuous operation.[8]

On retiring from riding the Methodist Circuit in 1806, Matheny settled down at Ridge Prairie, Illinois, and married Jemima Ogle, daughter of Captain Joseph Ogle. Captain Ogle had commanded a Virginia regiment in the Revolutionary War and had migrated to

[7] Robert Paine, *Life and Times of William McKendree* (Nashville, 1893), 158-60; S. R. Beggs, *Pages from the Early History of the West and Northwest* (Cincinnati, 1868), 140-42. Beggs places this camp meeting at Eunice instead of at Three Springs.

[8] Clarence O. Kimball, "The Earliest Methodism in Illinois," *American Illustrated Methodist Magazine*, Vol. IV (Sept., 1900), 56-57. The Methodist Church at Bethel was built in 1805, but for ten years it merged with the Center Grove Church. *History of St. Clair County, Illinois*, Brink, McDonough, pub. (Philadelphia, 1881), 172-73. The early records of the Shiloh Church have disappeared. Letter from pastor of Shiloh–O'Fallon Church to Willard R. Matheny, Chicago, April, 1940.

Illinois in 1785, settling in what is now Monroe County. In 1802, he made one of the pioneer locations on Ridge Prairie near the present town of O'Fallon.[9] J. M. Peck in 1837 described Ridge Prairie in the following words:

> Ridge Prairie is situated in Madison county, commencing near Edwardsville, and extending south to St. Clair county.
>
> It is on the dividing ridge between the waters that fall into the Mississippi west, and those that flow to the Kaskaskia east. Originally this prairie extended into St. Clair county as far south as Belleville [this was the case when the Ogles settled in the prairie in 1802], but long since, where farms have not been made, it has been intersected by a luxuriant growth of timber. Its surface is gently undulating, the soil rich, and is surrounded and indented with many fine farms.[10]

Charles R. Matheny turned to farming on this prairie in order to support his wife and a growing family, which subsequently included eleven children.[11] Although he devoted much attention to agricultural pursuits, he did not relinquish his interest in the Methodist Church nor did he dissociate himself from the affairs of Illinois Territory. In 1809, companies of rangers were organized to check the depredations of Indians stirred up by British agents. From July 27, 1812, to August 11, 1812, Matheny played the role of a fighting preacher by joining Captain John B. Moore's volunteer company of cavalry from St. Clair County. Further service in the War of 1812 is not indicated, but it is evident

[9] Brink, McDonough, pub., *St. Clair County*, 50-51, 173.

[10] J. M. Peck, *A Gazetteer of Illinois* (Philadelphia, 1837), 281.

[11] Matheny's wife survived him many years, dying at a ripe old age in 1858. John Reynolds, *The Pioneer History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1887), 261. Matheny's children bulked large in the future of Illinois. Noah W., James H., Charles W., and Elijah Cook Matheny had an important part in the political, professional and business affairs of Springfield and Sangamon County. Bateman and Selby, *Sangamon County*, II: pt. II, p. 1,422. James H. was a close friend and political adviser of Abraham Lincoln, a judge in Sangamon County, and a lieutenant-colonel during the Civil War. *United States Biographical Dictionary, Ill. Vol.*, (Chicago, 1876), 171-72; E. E. Sparks, ed., *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, III, Springfield, 1908), 88, 92, 232, 296.

from his participation in the work of this company that he was willing to make his religion a practical affair.

On December 14, 1811, Matheny was appointed a justice of the peace for St. Clair County, thus inaugurating a long career as a public servant. He was reappointed by Governor Ninian Edwards to this office on May 28, 1812.[12] In addition, he held two other county offices while residing in St. Clair County. On April 24, 1814, Governor Edwards appointed him treasurer of the county to take the place of William Whiteside who had died in office.[13] Three years later, March 3, 1817, Governor Edwards named Matheny to the position of circuit attorney for the first judicial district, presided over by Judge Jesse B. Thomas. He had acquired his knowledge of law from private study interspersed with his active life as a farmer, preacher, and county official.[14]

Mr. Matheny's work as a county official centered at Belleville, the county seat. In 1814, the county seat had been shifted from Cahokia to the more central location at Belleville. He prosecuted cases for the county in a newly erected two-story frame courthouse. His circuit was one of the three legal circuits into which Illinois had been divided, and it included Randolph County as well as St. Clair County. He was succeeded in office by Daniel Pope Cook, beginning at the fall term, 1819; the latter became the first prosecuting attorney under the new state organization.[15]

Matheny's horizon was not limited to service in purely county activities. In 1816, he was elected to the

[12] "Executive Record, 1809-1818," Vol. B: 35, 42 (Archives Division, Ill. State Library, Springfield).
[13] *Ibid.*, 58.
[14] *Ibid.*, 42.
[15] Reynolds, *Pioneer Hist. of Ill.*, 261n.

third territorial legislature, meeting at Kaskaskia, as a representative from St. Clair County.[16] There his most important work was done on the reform of the judiciary system. In 1815, the territorial legislature and Governor Edwards had petitioned the Congress of the United States to pass an act ordering the United States judges to conduct circuit courts. Congress had carried out this request and had ordered the judges to hold circuit courts in each county. However, this law had proved unsatisfactory, and the first session of the third territorial legislature attempted to provide a solution. A committee of the house reported a bill "to establish circuit courts of their own creation; to give a salary of about $800—to have two judges; and to hold three courts in each county."[17] The members of the legislature felt that the people of the territory should not be called upon to pay for a service which the United States judges should have performed, and another bill was substituted which practically continued the system then in force under the United States law of 1815. Two of the United States judges, Thomas and Towles, held court under the act, but Thomas felt that the law was not valid. One judge, William Sprigg, refused to recognize this act on the ground that the United States law had expired and that the territorial act was a violation of the Northwest Ordinance. At the time when he should have been riding his circuit, he was on a trip to Maryland.

When the third territorial assembly met for its second session in December, 1817, something had to be done

[16] "Journal of the Territorial Legislature," 1816-1817 (Archives Division, State Library, Springfield), 4. Miss Margaret Norton, archivist, has prepared a helpful index to the Journal.

[17] Solon J. Buck, *Illinois in 1818* (Springfield, 1917), 204. The United States Congress had given the territorial legislature the power to change the law of 1815.

to assure the trying of lawsuits and criminals in Judge Sprigg's circuit. Representatives Bradsby and Matheny of St. Clair County opposed any concession to the judge, and favored "an appeal to that tribunal [Congress] which is competent for that purpose." This appeal would have required too much time, and the legislature adopted a measure similar to the one which failed to pass in the first session. This provided for two circuit judges appointed by the Governor, with salaries of $1,000 a year. The United States judges were relieved of all circuit duty and were required to hold only four general courts a year. Although the legislature had made more concessions to the judges than Matheny desired, it did adopt resolutions requesting its delegate in Congress to lay before the House of Representatives charges against Judge Sprigg for his refusal to hold courts as required by the territorial law and for absenting himself from the territory for an unreasonable time.[18]

Mr. Matheny's stand in favoring no concession to the United States judges on relieving them of circuit court duty would seem to have been the result of his experience in the court affairs of his county. His work as circuit attorney for the first judicial district, presided over by Judge Thomas, apparently had not convinced him that the judges should be freed from the circuit court work.[19] His opposition to the judges also demonstrated that he was a member of the Ninian Edwards, Daniel Cook, and Nathaniel Pope faction of the territory. The Edwards group had opposed the judges, and

[18] Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, 197-200, 203-205; "Journals of the Territorial Legislature," 1816-1817, 1817-1818, *passim*.

[19] Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, 197 seems to agree with Matheny. Buck states that the judges had very little to do, and were absent from the territory for long periods of time, much to the dissatisfaction of the people.

the other faction, led by Shadrach Bond, Jesse B. Thomas, and Elias Kane, had supported the judges.[20]

A very significant phase of the work of this territorial assembly was the drawing up of a memorandum to Congress asking for statehood for Illinois. Charles R. Matheny was one of the committee of four which prepared this memorial. The day before its final passage, Mr. Matheny introduced a bill calling for the repeal of the law establishing the indenture system. This bill also contained a preamble which declared that the indenture law was in contravention to the paramount law of the land. Through the indenture system, negro slavery was maintained in the Northwest Territory. The indenture act of Indiana (1807) had continued in effect in Illinois in 1809 when the Governor and judges of Illinois Territory had stated that "the laws of Indiana Territory of a general nature. . . . are still in force in this Territory."[21] During the territorial period, there had been a growing sentiment against the institution which culminated in the bill introduced by Matheny in December, 1818.

Probably Matheny introduced the bill at the time of the discussion of the memorandum on statehood in order to prevent the constitutional convention from continuing indefinitely the system of indentured servitude. He hoped to establish the invalidity of the law in such a way as to make it impossible for this convention to ignore the action. The introduction of the bill

[20] That Edwards and Cook were not entirely sure of Matheny's support, however, was revealed by a letter from Cook to Edwards during the latter's campaign for Congress in 1819 against McLean of the opposing group. "I believe it will require some exertions to succeed against these jugglers. They have been trying to take Matheny from me by offering him an office; they may have succeeded, I cannot tell." E. B. Washburne, ed., *The Edwards Papers (Chicago Historical Society Collections*, III, Chicago, 1884), 159-61.

[21] Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, 214-15.

in the territorial assembly "gave rise to some warmth and animation of argument on both sides." Bradsby, also a representative from St. Clair County, supported Matheny and agreed that the action of a slave in indenturing himself to his master could not be considered as voluntary and consequently the system was involuntary servitude and a violation of the Ordinance of 1787. Matheny took the position that if the bill passed, although it declared the indenture act a violation of the Ordinance, it would "have no influence on contracts that have been heretofore made, if such were its intended operation, it would be an ex post facto law, and therefore unconstitutional."

The bill passed the House and Council, but Governor Edwards vetoed it. He declared himself to be no advocate of slavery, but thought that the validity of the indenture law should be left to the judiciary to decide rather than have the legislature invade a field of jurisdiction not in its power.[22] The result of this anti-slavery movement started by Charles R. Matheny was to establish slavery as the dominant issue in the forthcoming campaign for delegates to the constitutional convention. Matheny was not sent as a delegate from St. Clair County, and it is possible that his strong stand against slavery may have alienated many of his earlier supporters.[23] Although he was not a member of the convention, Matheny did not lose interest in the slavery question. While the convention was in session he and a group

[22] Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, 215-18; "Journal of the Territorial Legislature," 1817-1818, *passim*.

[23] Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, 218-19 points out: "The pro-slavery men had the advantage, for the extreme antislavery men by declaring themselves so positively at the very beginning, left the whole of the middle ground to their opponents. They made it necessary for those who sought only to keep conditions as they were to work together with advocates of unrestricted slavery."

of other anti-slavery men drew up an address "to friends of Freedom in the State of Illinois." The leaders of this extreme anti-slavery party acknowledged their defeat in the election by the following plea:

> We are informed that strong exertions will be made in the Convention to give sanction to that deplorable evil in our state; and least such should be the result at too late a period for any thing like concert to take place among the friends of freedom in trying to defeat it; we therefore, earnestly solicit all true friends to freedom in every section of the territory, to unite in opposing it, both by the election of a Delegate to Congress who will oppose it, and by forming meetings and preparing remonstrances to Congress against it. Indeed, so important is this question considered, that no exertion of a fair character should be omitted to defeat the plan of those who either wish a temporary or unlimited slavery. Let us also select men to the Legislature who will unite in remonstrating to the general government against ratifying such a constitution. At a crisis like this, thinking will not do, *acting* is necessary.[24]

That slavery played a part in the campaign for statehood and the election of delegates has been noted. In the convention, however, there is no evidence to show that anyone proposed to make Illinois a slave state. The influence of the Northwest Ordinance and the fear of congressional opposition caused a postponement of the slavery controversy until after statehood had been obtained. The prohibition of slavery and indentured servitude was changed from an unqualified prohibition in an earlier draft of the constitution to a ban against the further introduction of slaves and servants. Indentured servants were required to fulfill their contracts strictly, and existing relationships between master and slave or servant were protected, but no further contracts of this kind were to be made.[25]

[24] *Illinois Intelligencer* (Kaskaskia), Aug. 5, 1818; Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, 260-61 reprints the address.

[25] See E. J. Verlie, ed., *Illinois Constitutions* (*Ill. Hist. Col.*, XIII, Springfield, 1919),

The struggle in Illinois in these years between the pro-slavery and anti-slavery forces was largely a struggle among southerners. The official class of the territory was embroiled with slavery and indentured servitude. These lowland southerners were aided in their pro-slavery cause by the population about the salt works and the native French who usually held slaves. The opposition to this group came from the upland southerners who had sought to escape the evils of slavery by removal to a free territory. There were some lowland southerners however, who joined in the anti-slavery cause—notably Edward Coles, Ninian Edwards, and Nathaniel Pope. The anti-slavery cause was also aided by emigrants from the Middle States and the few New Englanders who had come to Illinois. Although each group received aid from others, the contest was usually between two groups of southerners with Charles R. Matheny playing a leading role for the upland southerners.[26]

Mr. Matheny concluded his career as a member of the legislative body of Illinois by serving in the second assembly of the state, meeting from 1820 to 1821.[27] He served on a committee of three to draw up plans for a seat of government for the state and for the erection of a temporary statehouse, courthouse, and a state prison.[28] His vote on one issue serves as an interesting commen-

38-39; Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, 282 states: "The action of the convention has usually been represented as an antislavery victory but the members who are known to have favored slavery were on the winning side in all three of the record votes. It has also been called a compromise between the opponents and the advocates of slavery but it would probably be more accurate to consider it a victory for those who occupied middle ground on the subject. The solution may well have embodied the views of a majority of the convention and also of a majority of the people of the state as well."

[26] See Barnhart, *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, Sept., 1939, pp. 371-74 for discussion of these two groups.

[27] "Election Returns, 1818-1820," I: no. 2,269 (Archives Division, State Library, Springfield).

[28] *Journal of the Ill. House of Representatives, 1820-1821*, pp. 5, 41-42, 54-59.

tary on his life. A bill for the opening, improving, and repairing of roads and highways was amended by adding, "That hereafter all licensed ministers of the gospel shall be exempt from working on roads and highways." This amendment received his negative vote.[29] As apparent from his own career, he felt that it was beneficial for ministers to render public service.

This state assembly was concerned with the problems created by the Panic of 1819 which swept through the country. A major cause of this Panic, according to many westerners, had been the work of the Bank of the United States in forcing local banks to close their doors because of the lack of specie in their vaults to back up the paper currency they had issued. The creation and operation of the bank were also considered to be an infringement upon state rights. On Matheny's motion, the Illinois legislature voted to accept a proposed amendment to the federal Constitution, which would have required that "Congress shall make no law to erect or incorporate any bank. . . except within the district of Columbia; and every bank . . . shall, together with its branches . . . be confined to the district of Columbia."[30] Although opposed to the Bank of the United States, he was not against banks as such. He favored a state bank and voted to create one with a capital stock of $300,000 in the hope that this institution would relieve some of the suffering caused by the lack of money.[31] The legislature took other steps to aid the people suffering from the Panic. Many settlers had acquired too much land from the federal government on credit, and now with money scarce, they were unable to meet the

[29] *Ill. House Journal, 1820-1821*, 348-50.
[30] *Ibid.*, 196-99.
[31] *Ibid.*, 144-45, 161.

payments due on their land. Matheny was appointed to a committee to draft a memorial to Congress "praying further relief to be granted to the purchasers of public lands."[32] He also voted for a stay law that aided insolvent debtors during this trying period.[33]

Two of his votes in this second assembly centered about moral questions. He was back of a move to prevent the representatives' hall in the Statehouse from being used for balls. This may have been the result of a feeling that it was undignified to open the hall for such an affair or, more likely, it was because of the prevalent feeling, entertained by ministers at that period, that balls, plays, and circuses were activities of Satan.[34] The second vote was on a petition from a citizen asking for a divorce from his wife. Matheny moved that this petition be not countenanced, and the House concurred in his request.[35]

In 1821, Charles R. Matheny moved his family to the recently organized Sangamon County where he was offered the positions of county clerk, clerk of the circuit court, county auditor, and other prospective advantages.[36] Apparently he had not been able to earn enough money from his farming and official activities to support his large family. The conditions facing a settler in St. Clair County have been described by John Reynolds, and one can see why Matheny was willing to leave:

> From 1818 to about 1826, Belleville was almost stationary, and increased in wealth and buildings but little. During part of this

[32] *Ill. House Journal, 1820-1821*, 13.
[33] *Ill. House Journal, 1820-1821*, 204-205.
[34] *Ill. House Journal, 1820-1821*, 255. See T. Walter Johnson, "Peter Akers: Methodist Circuit Rider and Educator (1790-1886)," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XXXII, no. 4 (Dec., 1939), 436 for Peter Akers' views on such affairs.
[35] *Ill. House Journal, 1820-1821*, 51.
[36] *History of Sangamon County, Illinois* (Inter-state Pub. Co., Chicago, 1881), 74.

time business was measurably suspended, and weeds sprouted and grew upon the public square. Different means were resorted to by the legislature to free the people from embarrassment. In these hard times cows and calves sold for five dollars. Stay laws, bankrupt acts, state banks and many other remedies were adopted, but I believe they injured more than they benefited the people.[37]

In contrast to this lament about the hard times in St. Clair County, there was high acclaim for Sangamon County. As early as 1819, Ferdinand Ernst, a German traveler, stated: "In the vicinity of this town [Vandalia] is a large amount of fine lands, but every one is full of praise for those which lie about sixty or eighty miles northward upon the river Sangamon." With his interest aroused he traveled to see this land, and when he reached it his enthusiasm led him to remark: "I do not believe that any other State in all America is so highly favored by nature, in every respect, as the State of Illinois."[38]

Descriptions like this echoing throughout Illinois, plus the tender of county positions, apparently induced Charles R. Matheny to move his family to this new county in order to obtain a more favorable standard of living. That the level of living he had maintained in St. Clair County must have been low is evident, for he would have been reluctant to give up a comfortable situation in order to face the difficulties that would beset him in pioneering a new area such as Sangamon County.

The pioneer status of this new country has been recorded for us by Elijah Iles who set out from Boone's Lick, Missouri, to investigate the reports about the Sangamon region that he had heard on his trip across

[37] Cited in *Belleville Advocate*, Oct. 25, 1939 (Centennial Edition).

[38] Helen Van Cleave Blankmeyer, "The Sangamon Country," *Illinois State Register*, Sept. 18-Nov. 28, 1934; Bateman and Selby, *Sangamon County*, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 638.

Illinois. He described his first view of the present town of Springfield, which was the temporary county seat, in the following words:

> I crossed the prairie [from the present-day Jacksonville] without a trail, found no one in the grove [Island Grove] and kept on the west side until I struck a trail running east to where it was said a temporary county seat was located. Following this trail I found the place, on the east side of Spring creek timber. Charles R. Matheny had just moved to the place, and had erected a cabin of one room, in which he was residing with a large family of little children. He had been appointed clerk of the circuit and county court, judge of the probate, clerk of his own court, and county recorder, although there were no deeds yet to be recorded. All of these offices heaped upon him did not give him a bare support.[39]

Iles apparently felt that the glowing reports had not been an exaggeration, for he contracted for the erection of a store near the stake that had been struck for the beginning of the town of Springfield.

Springfield had been selected as the temporary county seat because it was the only place in the region where enough farmers could be found to house the judges and lawyers of the county court. The county commissioners held their first meeting on April 3, 1821, at Kelly's settlement on Spring Creek, where they appointed Charles R. Matheny as clerk. Seven days later, the court met and hired John Kelly to build them a courthouse in the prevailing style, the logs to be twenty feet long, the house one story high, with a plank floor, a good cabin roof, and a door and window cut out. The next term of the court, meeting on June 4, 1821, was held in this newly constructed courthouse.[40]

[39] Elijah Iles, *Sketches of Early Life and Times in Kentucky, Missouri and Illinois* (Springfield, 1883), 27-28.

[40] "Sangamon County Commissioners Court Records," Vol. A: 1, 3, 9 (MS, Ill. State Hist. Lib., Springfield); H. Douglas Giger, comp., *The Story of the Sangamon County Court House* (Springfield, [1901]), 5-6.

Under the Constitution of 1818, the county commissioners' court acted as a county board with general administrative control over county business. The court's activities were co-ordinated by the clerk, who was chosen by the county commissioners until the office was made elective in 1837.

Charles R. Matheny held this office from 1821 until his death in 1839. He received a salary from the court in proportion to the number of days required for each session. For instance, in December, 1825, he was paid $100; in October, 1826, $16 for a short term; and in March, 1827, he received $15 for five days' services. He was able to piece out his income through charging fees for services rendered. In 1824 he was allowed to charge 37½c for every process and seal; 6c for filing a paper; 12½c for entering orders of court; $1.00 for each marriage, ferry, or tavern license; 25c for affixing the seal; and 25c for copying the rates of bridges and taverns.[41] In April, 1833, as clerk of the court he sent Salome Enos a bill, which reveals how important a source of income these fees were to him. This bill called for 12½c for filing a petition; 25c for bringing the record to court; $2.75 for entering a decree and copying it; 50c for entering the return; and $4.50 for entering three deeds.

As clerk of the court, Matheny had, in addition to legal work, the task of ordering firewood and supplies like books and stationery. On October 12, 1826, the county commissioners ordered:

That Charles R. Matheny be authorized to contract for and procure a good substantial convenient Table for the use of the bar &

[41] *Laws of Ill., 1824-1825*, 140-41. An interesting license he issued as clerk was one to Berry and Lincoln on March 6, 1833 to keep a tavern in New Salem, for which they paid $7.00. Some of the rates of their tavern as established by court were 12½c for lodging overnight a man or horse; 12½c for a pint of whiskey. "Sangamon County Court Records," Vol. D: 6.

the Clerk in the court house, and that an appropriation shall be made at the next Term to pay for said Table at such price as said Matheny may agree on, and also two seats for the use of the Table—to be procured as above.[42]

Matheny also had charge of the assessor's books and the books covering delinquent taxes. An important phase of his work was arranging for the sale of property for failure to pay taxes. On March 3, 1834, for example, he sold eighty acres in Township 15 of the North Range for $2.90, the amount of taxes for the year 1833, plus interest. He also seems to have been the source of information on the property of the county. On April 1, 1828, Hooper Warren wrote to Ninian Edwards, "I have just returned from a search for information concerning the Cox property. I found no one that knew anything about it until I met Mr. Matheny."[43]

In the same years that he was clerk of the county commissoners' court, he served as clerk of the circuit court. The first term of the Sangamon circuit court was held on May 7, 1821 at the home of John Kelly. The court consisted of John Reynolds as presiding justice, Charles R. Matheny as clerk, John Taylor as sheriff, and Henry Starr as the prosecuting attorney.[44] As clerk of the circuit court he received a salary that varied with the number of days the court was in session.[45] In addition to the salary, he received fees for legal work performed. According to the laws of 1824, he received 50c

[42] "Sangamon County Commissioners Court Records," Vol. A: 53; Vol. B: 20. These examples of his activities and fees charged as clerk are taken at random from the records and are only a few typical selections that might be made.

[43] Washburne, ed., *Edwards Papers*, 335-38.

[44] Bateman and Selby, *Sangamon County*, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 682. The court docket of all the cases he presided on as clerk is in the circuit clerk's office at Springfield. Matheny wrote out the cases from 1821 to 1839.

[45] For instance, for the year 1821 he received $87.50 for salary and stationery furnished that year. See "Circuit Court Records of Sangamon County," entry for the first Monday in September, 1821.

for issuing executions; 12½c for docketing them; 12½c for entering sheriff's returns; 50c for summons, subpoena, and other processes not specifically stated; 6¼c for swearing in witnesses; 12½c for entering the verdict of the jury; and 12½c for drawing up the list of jurors.[46] The average fee he seems to have earned in each case before the court ranged between $4.00 and $6.00.[47]

An important phase of his work as circuit clerk was the writing of estray notices. Any person who found a strayed animal had to inform the clerk of the court, and the clerk received a fee for issuing a public notice about the animal. The notice was sent to a newspaper and published. If the clerk was a Whig, as Matheny was, a Whig paper would receive the notice and the money from the county for publishing it.[48]

The office of circuit clerk was appointive throughout Matheny's life. He had first been named to the office by Judge John Reynolds of the Illinois Supreme Court on February 8, 1821. In 1835, Stephen T. Logan was elected judge of this circuit, and he appointed Mordecai Mobley to serve as clerk. On May 4, 1835, Mobley went into Matheny's office, ousted him, and took control. Matheny felt that he was the legal clerk with the lawful right to hold office until the legislature fixed the limit of tenure. Stephen A. Douglas, the people's attorney for the State of Illinois in this district, brought a *quo warranto* proceeding to try Mobley's right to office.

[46] *Laws of Ill., 1824-1825*, 139, 172. These fees have been selected at random.

[47] "Fee Book of the Circuit Court of Sangamon County" (Circuit Clerk's office, Springfield). This average is based on a study of these cases over the years. For example, in April, 1833 (p. 8), he earned $4.40 on a case. I am indebted to Dr. Harry Pratt of the Abraham Lincoln Association of Springfield, for aid in looking through these county records.

[48] See the *Sangamon Journal*, Jan. 5 and 26, 1832, for samples of estray notices; the clerk of the circuit court (Springfield) has the original notices in Matheny's handwriting.

Douglas won his case in the December term of the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court held that Charles R. Matheny was the legal holder of the office until the tenure was fixed by the legislature. According to the Supreme Court, Judge Logan did not have the power to appoint Mobley. By taking this position, the Supreme Court reversed a decision of a county court which had held that the judge had the right to select his own clerk.[49]

It should not be inferred, in view of the fees and salary derived from holding the clerkship in two courts, that Charles R. Matheny received a munificent stipend for his services to the people of Sangamon County. In 1821, for instance, there were few people in the region. Paul M. Angle writes of Springfield:

> So far as an increase of population was concerned, the location of the temporary county seat had attracted only one settler. He was Charles R. Matheny, who had been induced to locate there by the offer of all of the county offices except that of sheriff. Even he was finding it difficult to live on the fees of his combined offices. It was at least an even chance that the little village, thus prematurely born, would live out a listless existence of a year or two, and gradually disappear.[50]

That Matheny's income in the remaining years of county service was not great is revealed by an action of Abraham Lincoln after Matheny's death. A woman client of Lincoln's had him survey a piece of land she owned near the Springfield city limits. Lincoln found that by mistake the woman had become the owner of three more acres than she was entitled to, and Charles R. Matheny, the former owner, was the loser. Lincoln

[49] *People of the State of Illinois ex rel Charles R. Matheny* v. *Mordecai Mobley*, I Scammon (2 Ill.), 215. The reason for Logan's action is not clear. Matheny and Logan were both Whigs. It may have been Logan's personal desire to have his own clerk.

[50] Paul M. Angle, "*Here I Have Lived*" (Springfield, 1935), 6-7.

notified the woman that she ought to pay the heirs of Matheny for this land. It took a second letter, in which Lincoln pointed out that the Matheny heirs were poor, before she made the payment.[51]

Charles R. Matheny served Sangamon County in various offices in addition to his work as clerk of the two courts. From February 14, 1821, to his resignation on July 5, 1827, he was the county recorder, from February 14, 1821, until his resignation on October 19, 1838, he was a notary public, and on August 15, 1822, he was commissioned judge of probate. He was later elected to this position on February 13, 1823. On January 5, 1827, he was commissioned as justice of the peace, and on August 12, 1835, he received a commission for the same post, from which he resigned on March 15, 1836. In the last year of his life, he was appointed as commissioner to locate the seat of justice in Logan County.

In his years of service in Sangamon County, he watched the county grow from a wilderness region into one of the leading counties of the state. A considerable boost was given the county by the laying out of the town of Springfield in 1823 by Elijah Iles and Pascal P. Enos, and its selection as the permanent county seat in 1825.

Peter Cartwright visited Springfield in 1824 and has left a description of the town which well sets forth its pioneer status:

> There were in this place, now the seat of government, a few smoky, hastily-built cabins, and one or two very little shanties, called "stores," and, with the exception of a few articles of heavy ware, I could have carried at a few loads all they had for sale on my back.[52]

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[51] Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln, The Prairie Years* (New York, 1926), II: 47; Emanuel Hertz, *The Hidden Lincoln* (New York, 1938), 105-106.

[52] W. P. Strickland, ed., *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright*, 106.

Charles R. Matheny played as large a role in the history of the village as he did in county activities. The town of Springfield was incorporated on April 2, 1832, and Matheny was elected president of the board of trustees. During this year, William Cullen Bryant journeyed to Illinois from the East. His description of Jacksonville and Springfield, reflecting the attitude of an "effete" easterner accustomed to older ways of life, was not commendable. According to Bryant, Springfield was worse than Jacksonville:

> It [Jacksonville] was a horridly ugly village, composed of little shops and dwellings stuck close together around a dingy square, in the middle of which stands the ugliest of possible brick courthouses, with a spire and weathercock on its top. The surrounding country is a bare, green plain, with gentle undulations of surface, unenlivened by a single tree save what you see at a distance on the edge of the prairie, in the center of which the village stands. . . . The first day brought us to Springfield, the capital of Sangamon County, where the land office for this district is kept, and where I was desirous of making some inquiries as to the land in the market. Springfield is thirty-five miles east of Jacksonville, situated just on the edge of a large prairie, on ground somewhat more uneven than Jacksonville, but the houses are not so good, a considerable portion of them being log-cabins, and the whole town having an appearance of dirt and discomfort. The night was spent in a filthy tavern.[53]

From 1832 until his death, Charles R. Matheny served as president of the board of trustees of the village of Springfield, and his ability to retain this post reflected the influence the man must have had over his fellow townsmen in Springfield.[54] Among his associates on the board were Stephen T. Logan, most dis-

[53] "Illinois Fifty Years Ago," *Prose Writings of William Cullen Bryant* (New York, 1889), II: 11-16; Frank J. Heinl, "The Bryants of Jacksonville," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XVIII, no. 1 (April, 1925), 218.

[54] In the annual election of 1838, for example, he received 201 votes to his opponent's 77 votes. *Sangamon Journal*, April 7, 1838.

tinguished lawyer of his day in Illinois; Samuel H. Treat, later judge of the Supreme Court of Illinois; and Abraham Lincoln. During the first year, the board consisted of Matheny, Cyrus Anderson, John Taylor, Elisha Tabor, Mordecai Mobley, and William Carpenter. As president of the board, Charles R. Matheny had a wide range of activities under his control. He was in charge of contracting for the construction of town buildings, bridges, and sidewalks. The duty of supervising the public health fell upon his shoulders, and the board directed him to publish to the inhabitants a notice that they must remove all nuisances from the premises such as sinkholes, gutters and decaying matter. Four years later, the board directed him to publish an ordinance that "no swine shall be suffered to run at large in the town of Springfield." Nor could dogs run loose unless a license had been secured for them.

In 1838, Mr. Matheny was instrumental in obtaining a loan from the State Bank of Illinois for the town of Springfield. Among the signers pledging payment, in case the town became unable to pay, were Matheny, John Hay, Washington Iles, and Abraham Lincoln.[55] The last year of Mr. Matheny's life witnessed Abraham Lincoln's appointment to the board of trustees. On August 7, 1839, Lincoln was chosen president pro tem, an honor passed around in Matheny's absence.[56] Springfield received great impetus in 1837 when it was selected to be the site of the capital of Illinois. In order to raise the $50,000 to help construct the Statehouse, the town of Springfield was obliged to borrow the money from the State Bank of Illinois.

[55] Bond Book of Springfield, March 22, 1838 (MS, Abraham Lincoln Association, Springfield).

[56] *Bulletin of the Abraham Lincoln Association*, no. 48 (June, 1937), 4-5.

Earlier in this article, it was mentioned that political factions and cliques existed in Illinois throughout the territorial period. Local rather than national issues determined the lines of cleavage. The bone of contention prior to 1817 was the judiciary. One party supported, another opposed, the system as it existed. Charles R. Matheny lined up with the Ninian Edwards group in opposing the system. When the slavery and indentured servant question became prominent in 1818, the anti-judiciary party opposed any extension of the system. The pro-judiciary party, on the other hand, was more favorable to slavery and indentured servants. These factions, with some variations, persisted down to the time of emergence of the Whig Party in 1834. In 1822, there was a movement to call a constitutional convention to legalize slavery in the state, which met the opposition of the Edwards group, and in 1824, the proposal was defeated. The anti-conventionists were largely made up of the Edwards faction plus the newcomers in the northern counties, while the pro-conventionists were led by the anti-Edwards faction. The convention issue played a more important part in the election of 1824 than did the candidates for the presidency. The bulk of the anti-conventionists supported John Quincy Adams' candidacy, and their opponents favored General Jackson.[57] Charles R. Matheny supported Adams and was a delegate from Sangamon County to an Adams meeting at Alton on September 11.[58]

[57] Charles Manfred Thompson, *The Illinois Whigs Before 1846 (Univ. of Ill. Studies in the Social Sciences*, Vol. IV, no. 1, March, 1915), 27-28. The anti-Edwards group supported Jackson rather than Crawford because Crawford was not a popular candidate. "Edwards and his close political friends were Calhoun men and bitterly opposed to Crawford, but they appear to have been unable to unite on any one of the other three candidates. For instance, Cook was for Adams, and Eddy for Jackson; while Edwards himself was non-committal with a leaning toward Adams."

[58] Angle, "*Here I Have Lived*," 31.

After the election, the old factional alignments were split by the corrupt bargain charge levied by Jackson men against the Adams-Clay groups. Three distinct elements now appeared in the state. One opposed Jackson's desires for the presidency; a second favored Jackson, but was unwilling to go the "whole hog" for the Jackson candidacy; and the third was willing to go to any extreme for Jackson.

We have no record of where Mr. Matheny stood in this three-fold division, but it seems likely that he was a member of the opposition to Jackson. During the 1830's, Matheny was an out and out Whig. In 1837, when the office of clerk of the county commissioners became elective, he ran as the Whig candidate. The *Sangamo Journal* supported him and called for the defeat of the Loco Foco or Fanny Wright party.[59] General Adams, running for the office of probate judge, made an address in which he said, "Mr. Matheny and myself are among the oldest citizens of Sangamon County, and have both held our offices in times when they were neither an object worth holding. We are both advanced in years with families to support." Matheny did not wish to back Adams, so he supported the Whig candidate, Dr. A. G. Henry.[60]

The following year Mr. Matheny was the chairman in charge of the committee on arrangements for a Whig barbecue for the state. Among the other individuals

[59] *Sangamo Journal*, Aug. 5, 1837. This terming the Democratic Party, the Loco Foco or Fanny Wright party was an attempt to confuse the issue between the Whigs and Democrats. The Loco Focos and Fanny Wright were considered to be the "lunatic fringe" of American politics.

[60] *Sangamo Journal*, Aug. 5, 1837. "Mr. Matheny does not consider himself under any obligations to carry General Adams on his back. It is a load he is not ambitious to *tote*." The paper has a cartoon of Matheny climbing a ladder, and General Adams trying to catch his coat-tails saying, "Hallo, Squire! I thought to hang on your skirts." Matheny's reply is, "Yes, but man, you're sucked, for I wear a round-about."

influential in this celebration were William D. Herndon, William Herndon, Noah Matheny, Simeon Francis, and Elijah Iles.[61] Abraham Lincoln, supporting the straight Whig ticket, voted for Charles R. Matheny as county clerk in 1837 and 1839. When Mr. Matheny died in office, his son Noah ran as a candidate to fill the unexpired term. On November 14, 1839, Lincoln wrote J. T. Stuart, who was in Washington, "There is no news here; Noah, I still think, will be elected easily." Lincoln's prediction was correct, for two days later Noah ran far ahead of his Democratic opponent.[62] That Abraham Lincoln and Charles R. Matheny were personal and political friends seems evident. They served together on the board of trustees of Springfield in 1839; the law firm of Stuart and Lincoln defended Mr. Matheny in a court case in 1838;[63] and Mr. Lincoln supported Matheny's candidacy for county clerk in 1837 and 1839. Mr. Lincoln was probably a closer friend to Charles's son James, however, than he was to the father.

Closely connected with Mr. Matheny's work as county and town official was his interest in land speculation. Matheny acquired a good deal of land in the town and county, owning at one time the entire city block between First and Second and Washington and Adams streets.[64] That he did not acquire great wealth

[61] *Sangamo Journal*, Sept. 22, 1838.

[62] *Bulletin of the Abraham Lincoln Association*, no. 36 (Sept., 1934), 9; no. 37 (Dec., 1934), 4.

[63] "Circuit Court Records," 1838-1839, Vol. D: 98, 182, 334. Andrew Heredith sued Matheny for a debt of $6.00. The suit was dismissed. Mr. Matheny only appeared in one other case (in addition to the Supreme Court case described earlier) during his career, somewhat surprising in that frontiersmen seemed to be very fond of litigation over land claims. This other case was to secure full title from the Enos heirs for land he had bought from Pascal P. Enos. His right to the title was not questioned. "Circuit Court Records," 1835, pp. 471, 533.

[64] "Record of the Deeds of Sangamon County," Grantor Index, 178. All the lands he bought and sold are listed in the index. His home was in the northwest corner of the block mentioned in the text. (I am indebted to Dr. Harry Pratt for aid in making up a list of the lands owned by Mr. Matheny.)

through his land dealings is attested to by the fact that after his death, all his lands and belongings, except household furnishings worth $325, were sold to pay off his debts.[65]

Charles R. Matheny's duties as a public official did not abate his enthusiasm for the Methodist Church. In 1821, with the aid of John Glanville, the circuit rider, he organized all the Springfield Methodists into a society. For several years the society met in his hospitable home.[66] Peter Cartwright, who rode the Sangamon Circuit in 1825-1826, wrote: "We had a respectable society in point of members and religious moral character, but they were generally very poor."[67] The Matheny home, in addition to serving as a preaching place, was the home in which the Methodist itinerants stayed while in Springfield. In the latter years of Matheny's life, according to the Reverend James Leaton, he was an invalid and seldom preached. "He was but a moderate preacher, but was highly esteemed as an honorable, upright Christian gentleman."[68] Mr. Matheny served the church as a local deacon, steward, and trustee until his death on October 10, 1839. In these years at Springfield, while Mr. Matheny was serving as a local preacher, such figures as Peter Cartwright, Peter Akers, and James McKean were riding the Sangamon Circuit. That the Methodist Church was increasing its membership under their guidance is revealed by a letter from the Reverend Mr. McKean reported in the *Christian Advocate*, "The Reverend James McKean . . . states that

[65] Estate no. 396 (Probate Clerk's office, Springfield). The property worth $352 went to his widow.

[66] Nelson Allyn, "First Methodist Church, Springfield, Illinois; Historical Data, 1821-1933" (MS, Ill. State Hist. Lib., Springfield), 3.

[67] Strickland, ed., *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright*, 135.

[68] Leaton, *Methodism in Illinois*, 45-46.

God is gloriously reviving his work in that western region of country, and that many sinners are bowing their necks to the yoke of Christ."[69] When Peter Akers was in charge of the Springfield station in 1837, there were 191 white members in the church.[70]

Mr. Matheny's work in the Methodist Church was not limited to Springfield alone. In 1829, he was present at a quarterly meeting of the Sangamon Circuit, attended by Peter Cartwright, James McKean, and eleven other preachers. Matheny was chosen secretary for this conference. This particular gathering expelled Riddock Horne, a local preacher, from the Methodist Episcopal Church for "lying and slander."[71] Matheny and Peter Cartwright appear to have been close personal friends. In 1829, Cartwright pledged himself as security on a loan that Matheny negotiated in order to buy some land. Three years later, Matheny and four friends inserted a political notice in the *Sangamo Journal* asking the people of the county to elect "our old friend" Peter Cartwright to the General Assembly of the State.[72]

Growing out of Matheny's religious enthusiasm were his interests in colonization, temperance and Bible societies, and in education. The decade of the 1830's witnessed a great desire on the part of revivalists to free mankind of the various evils holding it in bondage. The enthusiasm engendered by the revivals of Charles G. Finney and Theodore Dwight Weld carried over into a crusade for reforms such as temperance reform, prison reform, and the abolition of slavery. To Illinois

[69] *Christian Advocate*, Oct. 2, 1829.

[70] Records of the First Methodist Church, Springfield.

[71] Minutes of the Illinois Conference, 1829 (MS, library of Illinois Wesleyan University). I am indebted to Allan R. Laursen, librarian, for sending me this information.

[72] *Sangamo Journal*, Feb. 2, 1832.

came preachers like the famed "Illinois Band," led by Edward Beecher, who did yeoman work in trying to free society from its chains. Matheny seems to have been receptive to the same emotional feeling which influenced other revivalists of the day. In 1833, he was instrumental in founding a branch of the Colonization Society, which sought to solve the slavery question by purchasing the freedom of slaves and sending them to settle in Liberia. Mr. Matheny served as president of the local unit, and John G. Bergen, E. Roberts and John T. Stuart were vice-presidents.[73] His enthusiasm for the cause of mankind led him to participate in the formation of the Sangamon County Temperance Society in 1831. In four years' time, this society grew from 34 to 157 members. Mr. Matheny was an active figure in the society serving as its manager and president.[74]

In July, 1824, he was instrumental in organizing the Springfield branch of the American Bible Society, and this group chose him to serve as its corresponding secretary. The national organization sent this branch 150 Bibles for distribution to the destitute of Sangamon County.[75] The history of the Springfield Bible Society is obscure. From 1824 to 1831, there is no mention of it in the *Annual Reports of the American Bible Society*. In 1831, the Society appears in the records when the national society sent it 800 Bibles for distribution.[76] The following year, the Reverend Neill Johnson, Illi-

[73] Angle, "*Here I Have Lived*," 52.

[74] *Sangamo Journal*, March 7, 1835; *Hist. of Sangamon County* (Inter-state Pub. Co.), 298. There was also a juvenile temperance society. James H. Matheny took the pledge not to use ardent spirits except as medicine. "Early Juvenile Temperance Society, Springfield, Illinois," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, XIII, no. 3 (Oct., 1920), 396-97. See *Report of the Executive Committee of the American Temperance Union, 1839* (New York, 1839), 20-21 for mention of the work in Illinois.

[75] *Annual Reports of the American Bible Society*, 1817-1838, I: 302, 309.

[76] *Ann. Rep. Amer. Bible Soc.*, 1817-1838, I: 558.

nois agent for the American Bible Society, called a meeting in Springfield at which he, J. G. Bergen, and Charles R. Matheny spoke at some length on the subject of Bible societies. At this meeting, Mr. Matheny was elected vice-president of the board of directors of the Springfield chapter.[77] From this date until Mr. Matheny's death, there is no further mention of the chapter in the records.

Although Mr. Matheny had had little formal education himself, he was interested in establishing institutions of learning in order that subsequent generations might benefit. In 1837, as a member of the board of trustees of the Springfield Seminary, he announced to the citizens of Springfield the founding of an institution of learning to prepare their children for college, and to educate them as their "parents desire." The tuition was to be $10 per term of twenty-two weeks for primary training, and $12 for secondary instruction.[78] This school apparently flourished, for two years later Mr. Matheny as president of the board of trustees inserted the following notice in the *Illinois State Register*:

> The President and Trustees of the Springfield Academy have the satisfaction to announce to the public that they have erected, in a pleasant and convenient situation in this place, a large and commodious two-story brick schoolhouse, capable of accomodating advantageously one hundred and fifty pupils, and that they have made an arrangement with Mr. S. M. Sill of this place, by which he has opened in it a High School for boys, and is now prepared to receive scholars.[79]

Mr. Matheny's interest in education also encompassed the need and desirability of collegiate training.

[77] *Sangamo Journal*, Jan. 19, 1832.
[78] *Ibid.*, Jan. 6, 1837.
[79] *Illinois State Register*, Sept. 28, Nov. 9, 23, 1839.

On November 8, 1828, he was elected a member of the board of managers of the proposed Lebanon Seminary. Two years later, the board of managers changed the name to McKendree College and chose Peter Akers as its first president.[80] By January, 1839, when McKendree College was incorporated, Matheny's name no longer appeared on the board of managers.

In spite of Charles R. Matheny's prominent position in the political, religious, and social life of early Illinois, he has, on the whole, been a neglected figure. No picture of the man has survived for posterity, and very few of his contemporaries have left any description of his physical appearance or character. To Major John T. Stuart, who served in the Colonization Society with him, we owe the following eulogy: "He was a good and useful man, had a pleasant smiling countenance beaming with benevolence as if the light of Heaven was shining on him, singling him out from the others." John Reynolds, governor of Illinois, and the judge of the circuit court who appointed him clerk in 1821, wrote that he "settled in Springfield, where he sustained an honorable and upright character as a citizen and a faithful and devout Christian, and died a few years since, beloved and revered by all his acquaintances."[81] His work in so many important facets of Illinois life reflects the strategic role one upland southerner played in the formation and development of Illinois and should assure him a place in the front rank of significant figures in the history of this frontier state.

[80] W. C. Walton, *Centennial History of McKendree College* (Lebanon, Ill., [1928]), 112-99. According to President M. H. Chamberlain of McKendree College in "Historical Sketch of McKendree College," *Ill. State Hist. Lib. Pub.*, no. 9 (Springfield, 1904), 330, "The managers were chosen from a wide area of territory and embraced some of the most conspicuous persons connected with the early history of the State."

[81] Reynolds, *Pioneer Hist. of Ill.*, 261-62.

# MR. LINCOLN GOES TO THE THEATRE

BY ART HEMMINGER

ABRAHAM Lincoln's predilection for the bright make-believe of the theatre is a facet of his character worthy of far more than the passing notice it has attracted to date. Contemporary correspondence and comments indicate that Lincoln was not only hopelessly stage-struck but that he relied almost exclusively upon the footlights for escape from the realities of an existence which offered few completely happy moments.

As a young man, Lincoln was so intrigued by theatrical performances that Judge David Davis and others frequently took him to task for his penchant, which they considered an indication of sloth, sinfulness, "peculiarity," or all three combined. Lincoln listened gravely to their admonitions but continued to frequent concert halls, theatres and "academies" on every possible occasion. He was not discouraged, even, when circuit-riding companions "joshed" him because of a close friendship he had formed with the leading lady of an itinerant theatrical company.

The banter of Lincoln's fellow-attorneys was occasioned by his admiration for Mrs. Lois Hillis, of a group known as the Newhall Players who strolled in Illinois, Indiana and Michigan during the early and middle 1800's. Lincoln ordinarily preferred attending

entertainments alone, sitting in a far corner where he could follow the performance without distraction, but when Mrs. Hillis was on the bill he took a front seat and made no effort to conceal his bedazzlement.

He once told Judge Davis, "Mrs. Hillis is the only woman, besides my wife, who ever appreciated me enough to pay me a compliment," and the doughty jurist—with a sidelong glance at his protégé's gaunt frame and weather-beaten face—snorted, "Lord, Mr. Lincoln, I thought you was a universal favorite with the fair sex!"

Like many stage folks of the period (or today, for that matter) Mrs. Hillis published her reminiscences. An interesting passage in this otherwise commonplace document tells of an evening in a Springfield hotel, when Lincoln, goaded by his associates into performing, recited with tremendous effect the poem "Mortality," containing the line, "Why should the spirit of mortal be proud?" Later, he told Mrs. Hillis that he knew neither the author of the poem nor its name, but that he would be "proud to copy it off for her." He then retired to his room, laboriously transcribed the verses and presented them to the actress the following morning. Since the Newhall Players were going on the road that day, Lincoln and Mrs. Hillis bade each other elaborate farewells. They did not meet again.

One of young Mr. Lincoln's early theatrical thrills must have occurred in 1839, soon after he had set up in law practice in Springfield. It was the winter when the elder Joseph Jefferson presented for the first time in Illinois John Howard Payne's play, "Clari, the Maid of Milan," and Lincoln was surely in the audience when Mrs. Jefferson sang the song hit of the show, "Home,

Sweet Home."

Joseph Jefferson, III, later famous for his "Rip Van Winkle," was a member of the company. He relates in his autobiography that his father, having made money for several weeks after his arrival in Springfield, decided to cash in on the town's prosperity as the newly-created capital of Illinois by building a theatre on a rented downtown lot. In the theatre, which the younger Jefferson described as a "ninety-foot dry goods box with a roof," benches were used in lieu of folding opera chairs, sperm-oil lamps which smelled to Heaven illuminated the auditorium, and footlights were composed of smaller lamps set in a float which operated on counterweights. Jefferson comments that if this "devil's workshop" were suddenly to have been lighted up as brightly as a metropolitan theatre of the time, its enemies would have declared that the light was furnished "direct from Satan's private gasometer."

In the midst of the Jeffersons' rising fortunes a heavy blow fell. A religious revival was in progress and the fathers of the church, not content with launching diatribes against the stage, actually prevailed upon the town council to draft an ordinance placing a prohibitory license fee upon theatres. The measure would have doomed the Jeffersons' venture to an early death, had not Lincoln, newly-elected to the council and spurred by his itch for footlight fare, offered to oppose the licensing measure for them. When the ordinance was brought up for a vote Lincoln rose to the floor and diffidently began his speech of opposition. As he warmed up to his subject, his voice became less harsh, his gestures smoother and his manner more convincing. Lincoln traced the history of the theatre from the time

when Thespis acted in a cart to the present day. He quoted Shakespeare, cracked sly jokes and illustrated his points with anecdotes. In the end, he prevailed and the tax was repealed.

There is little doubt that he was among those who held "paper" on the Jefferson theatre during the season that followed. Some of the plays presented that winter were Payne's "Therese, the Orphan of Geneva," George Boker's "Francesca de Rimini" and "Calaynos," Paulding's "The Lion of the West," and Bret's "Metamore," which gave rise to a whole series of Indian plays, among them "Sassacus, or the Indian Wife," "Kairrissah," "Oraloosa," "Outlassie," "The Wigwam," "The Indian Prophecy," etc. The Indian melodramas eventually became so much of a plague that newspapers and periodicals began bitterly denouncing them as complete nuisances. It was not until 1855, however, when John Brougham came out with his extravagant burlesque, "Pocahontas," that this wild and woolly cycle received its final coup de grace.

Lincoln's fondness for negro minstrelsy is brought out in a letter from Henry C. Whitney, a circuit-riding companion, to Herndon's amanuensis, Jesse Weik. Whitney tells of being in Chicago with Lincoln two months before the 1860 convention. Having been given three tickets to Rumsey and Newcomb's Minstrels, he hunted up Lincoln and asked him if he would like to go to a "nigger show" that night. Lincoln exclaimed: "Of all things I would rather do to-night that certainly is one." Whitney wrote of that evening:

> I never saw him enjoy himself more than he did that night. He applauded as often as anybody and with greater animation. The nondescript song and dance of "Dixie" was sung and acted by the

troupe, the first time I ever saw it, and probably the first time it was sung and acted in Illinois. I can remember well the spontaneity of Lincoln's enthusiasm and the heartiness of his applause at the music and action of this rollicking and anomalous performance. Little did we think that this weird and harmless melody would erelong be transformed into a fierce battle-cry by whose inspiration slaughter and carnage would be carried into the ranks of those who bared their bosoms to save the nation's life. Little did we think of this as he clapped his great brawny hands in true rustic heartiness and exclaimed in riotous enthusiasm: "Let's have it again! Let's have it again!"

Whitney also recalled a night in Danville in 1854 when Lincoln, mysteriously absent for hours, came in at midnight to wake him and Judge Davis with an account of an entertainment where he had just seen a magic lantern by which "wonderful sights and transformations" were shown. Lincoln, Whitney related, described "all the features of that primitive show with as much zest and enthusiasm as a schoolboy." The next night he returned to witness "an entire change of programme."

Further evidence of Lincoln's fondness for visits to Chicago theatres occurs in the diary of Orville Hickman Browning, Whig politician and friend of Lincoln's, whose rather prosy comments touching great lives and events have been preserved in print by the Illinois State Historical Library. Under date of July 7, 1857, we find that Browning, newly-arrived in Chicago from Quincy, spent his first night in the metropolis attending a performance of "Paul Pry," starring William Evans Burton, the English comedian-playwright who was then making one of his infrequent middlewestern appearances. Lincoln arrived in Chicago the next day and went with Browning to see Burton play "Toodles," a role of his own invention, which both of them concluded

was excellent. "His acting is very fine," Browning wrote. "It does not appear like *acting* at all. He is much the finest comedian I have ever seen." The two returned to Burton's playhouse on July 13, and saw a dramatization of "Dombey and Son," with Burton in the character of Captain Cuttle. The play must have been somewhat less successful than the first two, at least from Browning's viewpoint. He continued to praise Burton, but concluded that "the others were hum drum."

Weik recounts Herndon's story of the occasion when he and Lincoln, on their way home from the office one night, dropped in on a church society entertainment. Among other things on the program they heard for the first time the story of "Miss Flora McFlimsy with Nothing to Wear," "rendered" (in Herndon's words) by an elocutionist. In a place near the middle, not intended to be especially humorous, the audience was startled by a loud guffaw. Something in the poem had struck Lincoln's funny-bone and, despite his surroundings, he had given way to a fit of uncontrollable, gargantuan laughter.

The spell of the footlights followed Lincoln to Washington. Even during the bitter war years he liked to go forth on foot, accompanied only by a friend, to visit some playhouse which had received notice of his coming just a few moments before. His secretaries upbraided him for the risk involved in these visits, but Noah Brooks who frequently accompanied him said that their very unexpectedness served as a safeguard. It was the fact that his plans to attend "Our American Cousin" were so widely advertised that made possible the plot for his assassination.

Toward the last, as Lincoln's taste became more

sedate, his theatre-going was usually confined to occasions when Shakespearean repertory was billed, but Brooks recalls a hilarious evening at the old Washington theatre, where they saw Mrs. John Wood in "Pocahontas." Several weeks afterward Lincoln could still be observed chuckling to himself over the recollection of lines from the play. On the occasion when Brooks and Lincoln saw Edwin Forrest in "King Lear," Lincoln appeared more impressed by the acting of John McCullough, in the role of Edgar, than with the great tragedian's appearance as the mad king. He asked that McCullough might come to the box between the acts, and when the young actor was brought to the door, clad in his fantastic garb of rags and straw, Lincoln warmly but diffidently praised his performance.

James H. Hackett, the actor-manager, was another Lincoln favorite of the war years. A series of letters passed between the two beginning in 1863 when Lincoln acknowledged the receipt of a copy of Hackett's book, *Notes and Comments upon Plays and Actors of Shakespeare*. In his first note, containing an invitation to the White House, the President praised Hackett's interpretation of Falstaff which he had witnessed several months before, and deprecated his own knowledge of the theatre. "For one of my age," he wrote, "I have seen very little of the drama." Lincoln's statement may or may not have been a contradiction of fact, depending on the construction given the word "drama." If it is held to include minstrels, concerts, burlesques and the mixed grill provided in Springfield and Chicago, one must conclude that Lincoln was guilty of understatement.

In the same letter, the President professed his ad-

miration for " 'Lear,' 'Richard III,' 'Henry VIII,' 'Hamlet,' and especially 'Macbeth.' I think nothing equals 'Macbeth.' It is wonderful!" was his expression. He set forth the unorthodox opinion that "the soliloquy in 'Hamlet' commencing 'Oh, my offense is rank,' surpasses that commencing 'To be or not to be,' " and further inflated Hackett's already sufficiently-developed ego by closing with: "I should like to hear you pronounce the opening speech of Richard III."

Several other letters passed between the President and the actor, including one which indicates that some of Lincoln's commendatory remarks must have found their way into print. Only Lincoln's half of the correspondence is preserved, however, and as a result the incident defies complete interpretation. At any rate, Lincoln exonerated Hackett from any blame in the matter, and passed if off as one of the many trials besetting the life of a public servant. Hackett, who somehow failed to set down his memoirs, according to his contemporaries, was a "fine-looking man," and a capable, though somewhat uninspired actor. Joseph Jefferson declared that he remained an amateur all his life, but William Winter, less likely to be prejudiced, said his Falstaff was the greatest in the annals of the American theatre and that his acting was on "an intellectual plane far above the current standards of the time."

That Lincoln's death occurred in a theatre occasioned no little consternation among the clergymen who took it upon themselves to interpret the tragedy to the nation. Most of them hated the stage thoroughly and attempted to explain away the circumstance of the assassination's taking place in a citadel of scarlet temptation

and carnal license by saying that Lincoln was forced to attend by public demand and expectation. Some, however, went so far as to declare that Lincoln, stepping into a theatre, had removed himself from God's jurisdiction and by his act had forfeited Divine protection.

Today, all this furore seems far-fetched. Still, the student seeking further clues to the qualities which made Lincoln a great leader would do well to study thoroughly the bond between his theatre-going and his public life. Surely, his sense of the dramatic, his ability as a mimic, and his great flair for story-telling stemmed in no small measure from his deep-seated attachment for the theatre and its trappings.

# HIRAM K. JONES AND PHILOSOPHY IN JACKSONVILLE

BY PAUL RUSSELL ANDERSON

MEN and movements are not born in a vacuum; neither do they find their fulfillment apart from temporal and social considerations. A productive soil is just as necessary for the full development of ideas and institutions as it is for botanical species. It was no mere coincidence that Hiram K. Jones and Platonism found their earliest midwest habitat in Jacksonville. As Jones and Platonism enriched the cultural life of Jacksonville, so Jacksonville offered a fertile soil for the sowing of philosophical seeds. In order to provide a setting for the philosophical movement which is the subject of this essay, it must be understood that it was not enough that Jacksonville be a midwestern town, nor an early town, nor on the earliest railroad in the State of Illinois, nor the place where Stephen A. Douglas learned his law and William Jennings Bryan secured his education. To have a proper understanding of the social milieu of Jones, the Plato Club, and the American Akademe, one must understand Jacksonville as it was, one of the few uniquely cultural oases in more or less of a desert of frontier and near-frontier villages in which the spirit of settlement and the desire for economic security made of culture a desirable, but none the less secondary consideration.

From its very inception, Jacksonville was marked as a city of institutions. Even two years before the town was laid out (1825), the Morganian Society had been organized to prevent the introduction of slavery into the state. From that day until the present, it has been a center of clubs, organizations, philanthropic societies, welfare and educational institutions. Earliest among the clubs was Sigma Pi, founded in 1843 on the Illinois College campus during the period when the college fraternity movement had its greatest expansion, followed soon by Phi Alpha (1845). Mens' clubs followed along until the Literary Union, The Club, and the Round Table had become established in city life. In addition to an anti-slavery society, others such as the Natural History Society, the Historical Society, the Microscopic Society even down to an Anti-Horse Stealing Society were added. Women's societies played an early part, too, in Jacksonville life. The first of these was The Ladies' Association for Educating Females (later changed to the Ladies' Education Society)—a philanthropic society founded in 1832 for the purpose of providing scholarships and giving other necessary aid to women seeking an education. This particular organization led to the establishment of others of its kind in New York City, Rochester, Chicago, Springfield, Illinois, and elsewhere. Sorosis, the first women's literary organization in the country, was established locally in 1868, shortly after the first group was organized in New York. State institutions for the blind, deaf and insane were all founded in Jacksonville during the 1840's, and for nearly ten years the asylum for feebleminded children was also located there; these state institutions brought with them as administrators and

instructors a class of people which added much to the cultural life of the community.

In the realm of secondary and collegiate education the city was also abundantly supplied. Illinois College accepted its first students in 1830, although its charter was not granted until 1835; it was one of the earliest colleges in the state—the debate still continues between Illinois, McKendree and Shurtleff colleges as to which was the first. The Jacksonville Female Academy was chartered in the same year and continued independently until its amalgamation with Illinois College in 1903. Illinois Female College (now MacMurray College) was founded in 1846 and received its full college charter in 1863. A third college—Berean College—was established in 1856 but it was discontinued in 1859. In 1846 the Young Ladies Athenaeum was established with a course of instruction based largely on the Pestalozzian system, a radical departure in educational procedure at the time; this school was discontinued near the close of the century. In addition to these, there was the Jacksonville Business College (founded in 1865) which, for a period of years, offered a limited amount of liberal arts work as well as vocational courses. Two flourishing conservatories of music vied for public support in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. For several years (1843-1848) Illinois College had a medical department which, along with Rush Medical College in Chicago, was one of the two first medical schools in Illinois; this department of the college was abolished when it became difficult to pay professional salaries in cash and when the anatomy question had become a divisive one in medical circles.

All these organizations and institutions were founded

in a town which at no time during the period referred to had a population over 12,000 and until the 1860's was much smaller. It was no mere touch of civic pride, therefore, which gave Jacksonville the title of "The Athens of the West," a term by which it came to be known far from the Illinois prairie by which it is surrounded. Just when this term originated is uncertain, but it was definitely in vogue by the 1850's. It is possible that the term was first applied by the families who early emigrated from Huntsville, Alabama—a town which had many of the cultural characteristics of Jacksonville and which had been called "The Athens of the South." It may have been transferred by the emigrants from Lexington, Kentucky which had also been known as "The Athens of the West," or it may have been applied by Alcott, Emerson, and other visitors from the East. In any case, the term "The Athens of the West" was not inappropriate at the time.

There was a fairly large influx of southern people during the early decades of Jacksonville's history. This precipitated a bitter controversy over the issue of slavery and only the definite preponderance of a northern element kept the battle within bounds. The educational institutions were largely administered by people who had come from the East. The establishment of Illinois College was finally consummated by the famous "Yale Band" which played such a significant part in the westward march of higher education. Edward Beecher, the first president, was the son of Lyman Beecher; his successor, Julian M. Sturtevant, was a Yale graduate. The first principal of the Jacksonville Female Academy was Sarah C. Crocker who was chosen on the recommendation of Mary Lyon, the mother of higher education for

women in the United States. A later principal of the same institution was a John Adams who went to Jacksonville from the headship of Phillips Academy in Andover. A complete list of the educational leaders of the community would indicate a decided leaning toward New England in the choice of candidates.

Jacksonville never succumbed to the industrial wave which accompanied the advance of scientific invention. From the beginning it was self-contained, with an abundant supply of academic and corrective institutions. Its character was to be determined by these, not very largely by the ebb and flow of economic forces. Not that Jacksonville had no concern over economic problems; it did have, both in terms of the difficulties of keeping the private institutions alive and in terms of its dependence upon the surrounding agricultural territory. Fortunately, however, the latter made of Jacksonville an important center for business and banking, and the former came to be more adequately cared for as the wealth of the community increased and benefactors elsewhere added their contributions. The economic life of Jacksonville became stabilized earlier than in other cities of its size, leaving more time for the pursuit of cultural aims. The institutions it housed provided much of the material and set the tempo for its culture. Hiram K. Jones thus found ready soil for the consideration of essentially philosophical problems. This interest continued for over thirty years, causing William Torrey Harris to write in 1890: "Jacksonville is a sort of university city for Philosophy in this country, and we are all interested in its doings, that is to say, all of us who are interested in Philosophy."[1]

[1] Letter to Louise M. Fuller, Nov. 21, 1890. Printed in *Journal of the American Akademe*, 5 (1890): 18.

Jacksonville without Jones would probably never have produced a Platonic circle just as Jones without Jacksonville could hardly have produced such a continuous and expansive circle as actually existed. We have dealt with one side of this partnership; it now remains to turn to Jones, to see what contribution he made to the culture of this "Athens of the West." His influence was more than casual; it was contagious, so contagious in fact as to permit him to be referred to as "the western metaphysical giant," "the western wonder," and "the modern Plato."

The American ancestry of Jones can be traced back to the days of the Revolution, his grandfather on the paternal side having emigrated to this country and later having served directly under General Washington in the Revolutionary Army; this latter was a fact of which Jones was eminently proud. He was born in Culpepper, Virginia, August 5, 1818, the son of Stephen and Mildred Jones. When Jones was but a lad of nine he had his first taste of the West when the family settled at Troy, Missouri where his father engaged in farming. He remained at home until he was sixteen, during which time he had not only secured his own preliminary education but had already begun to teach others. Altogether he had taught eight years in elementary schools in the surrounding country before, at the comparatively late age of twenty-two, he set out for college—as the fates would have it in this case, for Illinois College in Jacksonville. In 1844 he finished the classical course with honors and continued his study for three more years during which time he received the M. D. (1846) and M. A. (1847) degrees. He then returned home (now Ashley, Missouri) to practice medicine, and not long

afterward met and later married Elizabeth Orr whose father, Philip Orr, was a judge. His marriage proved to be a happy one. Wherever Jones's interests led him, philosophical or otherwise, his wife (known familiarly as Lizzie) determinedly followed him with zeal and devotion; her own philosophical talent was far above the average and she came to be an influential member of the Platonic circle in her own right. Whether his practice failed to materialize as he thought it should or whether the more culturally opportune city of Jacksonville alone attracted him is difficult to say. At any rate, he and his wife moved to Jacksonville in the early 1850's and Jones started his medical practice anew. In 1854 he served as acting superintendent of the Hospital for the Insane, but upon the permanent appointment of a new head for the institution he returned to his practice which he continued until his death on June 16, 1903.

As a medical practitioner, Jones was regarded highly, particularly in the early years of his practice. He did not even so much as bother to put a shingle out until after thirty years, and then only because of the fact that a lady patient from abroad who had hunted for the office in the hot sun until she nearly fainted from exhaustion led him to conclude that it was the better part of valor to let the public be informed of his place of residence. Various stories are told of him as a doctor, from his frequent use of psychiatric techniques (perhaps traceable to his experience with the insane) to his dirty, somewhat stained vest which seems to have impressed the young quite as much as his large "pill-box" with whose contents he sought to effect cures.[2]

[2] This "pill-box" is owned now by Dr. Charles Cole of Jacksonville.

His technique was probably above the average for his day, his procedure conventional. He followed the eclectic school in medicine, employing vegetable compounds in treatment, hoping by this means to conserve the energy of the patient until the normal process of recovery had taken place. He was one of the founders of the local Microscopic Society and brought back from Europe valuable equipment which he used in his demonstrations at Illinois College and made available to other physicians. Still, he came to oppose the germ-theory and his demise as a physician, at least as far as the younger members of his own profession were concerned, came when he read a paper in February, 1890, before the local medical society entitled "The Anatomy and Physiology of Micro-Organisms" in which he rejected the new theory; the paper was much criticized, and after this he never regained a position of leadership among his compatriots. It is perhaps only fair to say that his philosophical pursuits undoubtedly prevented him from keeping abreast of developments in his chosen profession and hence led to his being regarded locally as a "man of the old school." Whatever the criticism of his medical knowledge, he nevertheless developed a large practice, remunerative to the extent that he became a large benefactor of his Alma Mater in his later years.

As a citizen, Jones was held in high regard. He was a founder of the Microscopic Society, a charter member of the Literary Society, and he gave much time and effort to all worthy public enterprises. He was a loyal alumnus of Illinois College, serving as president of its Board of Trustees for ten years. He lectured on anatomy and physiology intermittently at the Business College

and at Illinois College and served as professor of philosophy at the latter from 1886 to 1900. He was interested in the maintenance of a deer park close to Jacksonville and kept a log of all the artesian wells in the vicinity as an avocation as well as a public service. He was a Republican in politics, a friend and supporter of Lincoln, and on one occasion, because of his strong antislavery sentiments, campaigned for a seat in the legislature. A portion of the underground railway entered his own house, by means of which he aided numerous slaves who had escaped from their serfdom. Friendly to students, he housed young men like William Jennings Bryan who found the acquisition of a college education a difficult economic struggle. His philanthropy was largely directed toward Illinois College. In 1895 he gave $20,000 for a new chapel and library. He was supposed to receive an annuity from this but shortly thereafter he waived this privilege. The building was dedicated in 1897 as Jones Hall in memory of his wife, at which ceremony a program on philosophical subjects was presented, with addresses by James H. Tufts on "The Development of Individuality and Individualism," by William Torrey Harris on "The Fruits of Philosophy" and by Jones on "Philosophy in Higher Education." In 1902 he gave another $10,000, and his will provided an additional $38,000 for endowment later. By these bequests he became the greatest single alumni benefactor of the college. His library was also given to the college, but it is difficult to determine just how many books were included because they have now been assimilated into the regular college collection.[3]

[3] An account of Jones's life is included here because only one other account is

Jones, the family doctor, and Jones, the citizen and benefactor, will never achieve the position of eminence which Jones, the Platonic philosopher, did. In philosophy, contrary to the tradition which was beginning to take hold during his life, Jones was largely a self-made character. Like his contemporaries in St. Louis, Jones regarded philosophy as a necessary orientation for the whole business of human living. It gave impetus to vocational pursuits and it enriched the leisure hours. In short, it brought the tangled miscellany of human experience into some semblance of harmony, providing meaning and purpose for all.

Jones's philosophical interest began while he was in college. Emerson was the chief object of his attention at the time, not because of, but in spite of, any instruction which he received. This is the story in his own words:

> When I was a student in Illinois College there were two other students and myself who got hold of Emerson's writings. Of course we were ridiculed for dabbling in such transcendental nonsense. These writings were then denounced on all sides. We continued to read Emerson. Now within one short lifetime that thought has conquered and subdued all minds.[4]

Emerson obviously awakened Jones to the possibilities of philosophical study. But like most students, Jones was not satisfied to equate philosophy with the thought of one philosopher, and this acquaintance with Emerson came to be for him but an introduction to a whole world of new meaning, a world with which he became increasingly familiar as the years rolled by, but

available and that relatively inaccessible. It is an obituary written by T. J. Pitner, C. E. Black and F. P. Norbury and is printed in *The Illinois Medical Journal*, 5 (1903-1904): 173-74.

[4] *Journal of the American Akademe*, 3 (1887): 171.

a world which still retained something of the overtones which his first real teacher provided for him. Upon his graduation he feared that this new discovery might slip from his hands but he quickly came to the realization that the decision remained with him. He records the experience in the following words:

> I was walking across the hill after my graduation full of regret that school days were over. The thought of dropping all the lines of delightful study I had been pursuing, filled me with melancholy: there seemed no interest in the future equal to that I was leaving. Suddenly it occurred to me that I might *still be a student;* that I need not *give up study*. From that moment all was clear, and I may indeed say that I have been a student all my life.[5]

The respect with which Jones regarded Emerson never diminished, but he was unsatisfied until he began to drink from the same philosophical fount which had fortified his guide, the whole Platonic tradition from Plato to Thomas Taylor. One of Jones's followers[6] referred to him as wearing the mantle of Dr. Tayler Lewis and it is perhaps true that Lewis did have an inspirational effect upon Jones but he hardly influenced him to the extent indicated. Lewis was a classical scholar of considerable importance who taught at New York University and at Union College. His one book on Plato, *Plato against the Atheists*, which came out in 1845, was a running commentary on the tenth book of the *Laws*. Its main object was to dispel, by means of invoking the authority of Plato, tendencies at the time which he regarded as atheistic. He conceived the tenth book of the *Laws* to be the best introduction to Plato's system as a whole, but the book was not so much intended to be

[5] *Journal of the American Akademe*, 5 (1890): 18.

[6] "Viator." He defended Jones and the Plato Club in the local paper in the fall of 1879 from the cynical jests of local punsters.

an introduction to Plato as to be a refutation of atheism. It is true that Lewis and Jones did have some points in common, such as their desire to provide an antidote to the inductive method of reasoning which they regarded as responsible for the "materialistic" emphasis of the day, but a comparison of the approach of the two men to Plato is alone sufficient to discount Lewis' influence on Jones. Lewis made the *Laws* the key to the whole Platonic system while Jones regarded the *Laws* as spurious. Furthermore, there is no evidence that the men ever had contact with each other, through correspondence or personal acquaintance. Jones undoubtedly read Lewis' book, but it is doubtful if this had other than an inspirational effect upon his own development of a Platonic philosophy. What really influenced Jones more than anything else was the reading of Plato himself, a project he was engaged upon in earnest by the early 1860's. What he did in a philosophical way during the late 1840's and the 1850's is difficult to determine but it is doubtful if he did more than occasional reading during this period as he was probably engaged sufficiently in getting his medical practice on foot to prevent any thorough philosophical research.

A factor which encouraged Jones in his study of philosophy was the uncertainty at the time in medical circles as to the proper technique for the conduct of the profession. This led Jones to seek some basis for his medicine in philosophical concepts. J. J. Garth Wilkinson, well-known English surgeon and homeopathist who edited Swedenborg's works, had provided such a basis for his own medicine in his *Human Body and its Connection with Man* (London, 1851; second edition, 1860), in which he argued that the nervous system was

a sort of physical handle of the spirit, providing a link between the spirit and the body; for this he was indebted to Swedenborg. Jones became interested in this book, although how seriously he followed Wilkinson is difficult to say. When he started the Plato Club in 1865 he was talking about Wilkinson, and the fact that Alexander Wilder, another physician, could present a paper on Wilkinson before the American Akademe as late as 1891 indicates that Wilkinson had not been lost sight of during the intervening period. It is probable, however, that this influence was little more than another incentive to seek a Platonic synthesis of his own as well as to serve as a brief introduction to Swedenborg. While Jones did find in Platonism a system for relating the mind and the body he never completely readjusted his medical practice to conform to it. Evidence of this is to be found in the discussion which followed his paper on "Man and his Material Body" which he read before the American Akademe in November, 1890. In this Jones had argued that the body was passive, without form and without life in itself. Elizur Wolcott, who invariably proved to be a critic of Jones's position, asked Jones what he would do if he (Wolcott) took sick in the night and asked Jones to call; he answered in his own words by saying: "You know very well what he will do; he will come with his *case of medicines* and do his utmost to change the material conditions that are tormenting me."[7] Jones then retorted, perhaps facetiously or perhaps in self-defense, "I would ask you what you had been doing," to which Wolcott replied, "No; you would work away with your pills trying to hit that point of actual distress occasioned by some mis-

[7] *Journal of the American Akademe*, 5 (1890): 56.

placed matter." Jones certainly found his Platonism satisfactory for religious and moral purposes but he never completely adapted his medicine to it. This is another way of saying that Jones wanted more than an explanation for medicine; he wanted a point of view which would harmonize man's moral, intellectual and religious needs. His medicine increasingly became a means of living, his philosophy adequate reason for it.[8]

When Jones first took up the serious reading of Plato in the early 1860's his enthusiasm was hard to keep within bounds. Whenever friends of his showed the least interest in philosophical problems he would trot out his new found "Bible" and read passages to them. It was not long until he had made three permanent converts to his new course of study, Miss Louise Fuller, Mrs. J. O. King and Mrs. Elizur Wolcott. They agreed to meet every Saturday morning for the reading of the Platonic dialogues and for discussion suggested by them. Saturday morning proved to be a wise choice of time for these meetings for, as the group grew, people in educational work joined it, and for them this was obviously the most convenient day. At first the meetings were held at Mrs. Wolcott's, then at Mrs. King's, later at the homes of Miss Anna Paxson and others, ending up with Jones's study as a permanent home.

Mrs. Wolcott, writing in 1890, throws some light on the psychological origin of this Plato Club, although she undoubtedly overestimates the bitterness of the struggle involved. She says:

One summer morning thirty years ago [it was not quite that

[8] Through the kindness of Professor Franklin P. Johnson of the University of Chicago the author now has in his possession manuscripts which Jones was preparing for publication at the time of his death. A full account of his philosophy will therefore be reserved for another occasion.

long], three friends met in an upper chamber, to decide how they might best inaugurate a plan which should serve once a week to draw them away from the absorbing cares of every-day life, and elevate them to some purer realm from whose heights life in all its interests might appear in its true relations, and where mind and heart might be so strengthened and sweetened that the toil and stress of life's battle might be more easily and courageously borne.[9]

It hardly seems possible that the three ladies concerned found life quite as tiresome as the last sentence of this quotation would indicate, for they had no economic problems and they were among the leading women of the city, but the quotation does suggest that resident in their minds was a psychological and intellectual need that had not been cared for otherwise. They talked at first about reading the Bible and then, after conferring with Hiram K. Jones, concluded that Plato was probably the fountain at which they wished to drink. Thus the Plato Club came into being, not to lose its influence until the 1890's.

At first the meetings were for the purpose of reading and discussing the dialogues but as Jones became more thoroughly acquainted with Plato and as the organization grew in size, the meetings took on the character of a group interested in the gospel of Plato as interpreted by H. K. Jones. Sections of a dialogue would be read and then Jones would interpret the meaning. The plan was more that of the German institutions of higher learning than that of Plato himself. As Miss Fuller coyly remarked, "In type of mind Dr. Jones is unlike Plato, and still less like Socrates. In the Club things are laid down with no uncertain sound; discipline,—tolerable."[10] On

[9] "The Plato Club of Jacksonville, Illinois," in *The Bibliotheca Platonica*, 1 (1890): 287. This is one of the three accounts of the Plato Club written by members. The other two are by Lewis Block and Louise Fuller; they appeared respectively in *The Platonist*, 1 (1881): 84-85, and in *The Journal of the American Akademe*, 5 (1890): 18-24.

[10] *Journal of the American Akademe*, 5 (1890): 22.

the whole the members did not seem to resent the presentation of truth from on high and came to look upon Jones as a philosopher in his own right and, as such, a man worth listening to. There was discussion, of course, and there were some who were bold enough to question Jones both on his interpretation of Plato and on his own ideas but he clearly held the center of the stage as well as the respect of all. The Bohn translation was used for the most part, but other translations and the original Greek were referred to when further clarity was desired on disputed points. In the course of the three decades during which the club operated, the dialogues, excepting the *Laws*, were read through twice, some a third time and others were gone over more often. *The Charmides* was the first dialogue read and confirms the statement above that Jones wished some philosophical basis for his medicine, since it dealt largely with health and medicine. From that point on, however, the other dialogues such as the *Republic*, the *Timaeus* and the *Symposium* took first place in the affection of the members. Notes on the readings and comments were taken by Mrs. King and sent to Mrs. Sarah Denman in Quincy where they were used in the meetings of the early Plato group in that city. After Mrs. King's death Mrs. Wolcott continued to take notes, some of which were published in the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* and elsewhere.[11]

The first influx of new members was from the ranks of local teachers and included Mrs. Charles Drury, Miss Anna Paxson, Miss Mary Selby and Miss Elizabeth Wright. They were regarded as an excellent addition because it was felt that as educators they brought with

[11] Mrs. King's notes are in the possession of Mrs. Albert E. McVitty of Princeton, New Jersey.

them a regard for study combined with an eye for its fruitful results. In the world today, serious question might be raised over the assumption that if one teaches he therefore has a practical sense; but the situation was somewhat different seventy years ago and even if it had not been so, at least the charter members of the Plato Club regarded these early additions as welcome from this standpoint.

The second group which was admitted in the early 1870's, also largely teachers, included D. H. Harris, brother of William Torrey Harris, and Lewis J. Block whom Harris, as superintendent of the Jacksonville schools, brought to Jacksonville to become principal of the high school. With these two men, particularly with Block, a wave of Hegelian philosophy came in. Harris at this time was not actively aligned with his brother's movement in St. Louis, although he knew about it and had natural sympathies with it. Block, on the other hand, had been an associate member of the group in St. Louis and provided a fresh approach which he had acquired while there. As for the later inclinations of these men, Harris moved more decidedly in the direction of Hegelianism and later became closely associated with Denton J. Snider in the Communal University in St. Louis, while Block transferred his major allegiance from Hegel to Plato and became an important leader both in the Plato Club and in the American Akademe. Harris left Jacksonville around 1880 because of the ill health of his wife; a little later Block moved to Chicago. But in any event the Hegelian point of view never threatened the supremacy of Plato in the minds of the local people. The "Athens of the West" remained loyal to its Greek epithet.

It would be a mistake, however, to think of the Plato Club as an organization whose sole function was the understanding and glorification of Plato in any esoteric sense. Jones himself was a man of wide reading both in philosophy and literature; he was constantly associating ideas in Plato with similar ones in Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, Spencer and others and drawing parallels in Christian, Hindu, Persian and Chinese thought. Members of the club had specific allegiances of their own and they were free to interpret Plato as they saw fit. There was no credal basis for membership, nor were there religious or racial discriminations. Elizur Wolcott, as a devotee of science, defended the doctrine of evolution although Jones and others did not accept either its Darwinian or Spencerian interpretations. Mrs. Ellen Ramsey was a champion of Swedenborg and introduced his philosophy whenever possible. Block, a Jew, was listened to as attentively as anyone else. The members not only represented different points of view but they had widely diverse interests, despite the fact that the early membership was composed largely of teachers and a goodly number of them were included even when their proportion dropped.

The club did not lack interest from the standpoint of the variety of attitudes and inclinations involved. One member easily burst forth with spontaneous intuitive insights whenever the spirit called her. Another, a staunch Presbyterian, liked Plato as well as the others, but always kept an eagle eye peeled for any signs of heresy. There were others whose denominational affiliations were sufficiently nominal to permit them to say and think almost anything which seemed reasonable. One member flowered forth with pertinent bits of poetry

whenever occasion permitted. Another had a ready streak of humor to lighten the discussion when it became too heated or involved. The group ranged in attitude from those who took their philosophy no more seriously than anything else to those who moved to Jacksonville for the very purpose of philosophical enlightenment. What distinguished the Plato Club from other organizations in the Midwest at the time was not so much the variety of people involved as their continuous devotion to a club whose primary purpose was the study of Plato's dialogues. For Jones, the variety of ideas and attitudes symbolized the plural expressions of the universal truth of Plato. Plato, for him, was sufficiently catholic to embrace in his point of view all of the lesser truths expounded under a thousand different names and in behalf of many different systems.[12]

The Plato Club was largely a Jacksonville organization but its influence spread and it attracted visitors from nearby cities such as Quincy and others even as far away as Davenport, Iowa. It sought stimulation from abroad too. Bronson Alcott visited the club on several occasions for conversations, Denton J. Snider spoke on Hegel, Shakespeare and Goethe, W. T. Harris on Hegel, and Thomas Davidson on Aristotle; H. H. Morgan, editor of *The Western*, and Thomas H. Johnson of Osceola, Missouri were also visitors. These voices from abroad, however, were but eddies in a stream, serving as they did to provide a temporary stir, but ultimately

[12] No record of the complete membership of the club is available. The following is a partial list in addition to those already mentioned: the Mesdames H. K. Jones, Julia Palmer Stevens, Alexander McDonald, I. L. Morrison, M. J. Kellogg, M. J. Stearns, Mary Kirk, and D. H. Harris; Misses Mary King, Emma King, Edith Wolcott, Jennie Meek, Mary Rhoads, Sarah Allen; Messrs. Charles Drury, Chauncey Carter, E. E. Butler, William Clark, a Mr. Clayton, and a Mr. Wendte. A large proportion of the members were women.

conquered by the main flow of Platonic ideology as it came from the dialogues of Plato and was distilled by Hiram K. Jones.

The effect of the Plato Club varied somewhat with the interests of the members. The attitudes of the three who have written accounts of the club are perhaps representative. Miss Fuller, who was not only a member of the Plato Club but a leader in the American Akademe and editor of the last two volumes of its *Journal*, regarded the club as a means of general education. Plato, for her, was a window through which to see and understand the world's great literature and philosophy. Her attention was always focused on the practical results of thought and Plato was a means for enriching personal and social life as well, presenting as he did a scheme of thought which brought the minutiae of life into perspective. For Mrs. Wolcott, Plato served religious purposes, for he presented a vision of the eternality of truth as distinguished from the transitoriness of temporal relations. While she held that Plato never achieved a system which attained to mathematical or logical completion yet she felt that he did sketch a method and embody an attitude which encouraged men to seek unity and an intrinsic good. The almost mystic quality of her writing rather sums up this particular type of reaction.

> Having walked with him in pursuit of some ideal form, we can never again be as ignorant of its nature as before, for his clear vision chases away the darkness of ignorance and opens vistas in every direction as he goes on, at last leading us to those heights from whose summits new truth becomes visible, new light breaks in on us, and we plant our stakes further out in the Infinite than ever before.[13]

[13] *The Bibliotheca Platonica*, 1 (1890): 289-90.

A third type of reaction was that demonstrated by Lewis Block, who recognized the educational and the religious value in Plato but who even more regarded Plato as the founder of a system, a system in which not all elements were carefully organized but a system whose main outline was clearly apparent. He regarded the Plato Club as a Platonic school where the essential ingredients of that system could be studied and learned. His view of what the Plato Club taught can be summed up in a few sentences. There existed a first creator, understood best as absolute energy. The creator produced a whole hierarchy of being in which man was the center, above were the various orders of sub-deities, and below were spheres antagonistic to the good. The universe was a reflection of the first cause, a dimming of its power and goodness. The human realm was that in which the created sought to return to its source. The soul, the connecting link, was resident in the body for purposes of experience and purification, at the achievement of which it could be reunited with its creator. The procedure was rational, for only through knowledge of truth could the soul find its way back to its eternal haven. Truth, as such, was not so much a body of knowledge as it was a way of life by which purification could take place.

The Plato Club served a variety of functions for its members, and if they and they alone had been involved it would still be a topic worth writing about. But it was more than that; it was a cell from which a larger organism developed. The Plato Club was the beginning of a movement which spread its influence beyond the limited cultural environs of Jacksonville to other cities such as Quincy, Decatur and Bloomington through

clubs which were established there, to the larger public which Jones as its spokesman addressed at the Concord School of Philosophy, and the still larger public which became readers of the *Journal of the American Akademe*. The Plato Club was Jones's training ground because, despite his somewhat oracular and doctrinaire commentaries on the dialogues, he found there a group of men and women of serious intent and broad experience who served to polish his thought and eradicate its weaknesses through their questions, comments and criticisms. It was no mere freak of Nature, therefore, which brought Jones to the fore and made it possible for him to be regarded as the leading Platonic teacher in the country.

The Concord School of Philosophy was established at Concord, Massachusetts in 1879 as a summer school for the study of philosophy, the first of its kind in the country. This was an idea which had been brewing in the mind of Bronson Alcott ever since the early 1840's when he had visited James P. Greaves's school near London. It had been given much encouragement through the contacts which Alcott established in his various journeys through the Midwest and he had talked the idea over with Jones in Jacksonville on occasion, realizing that interest in such a school was as strong as, if not stronger, in the Midwest than it was in the East. In a very important sense, it can be said that if Jones and the Plato Club had not been successful in their own way and enthusiastic about such schemes, the Concord School might never have come into being. It was Jones's visit to Concord in 1878 that brought the movement to fruition, for on that occasion, Alcott, Jones, Sanborn and Emerson agreed that the auspicious moment had

arrived for such a venture. When the school opened in 1879 its two chief attractions were Jones and William Torrey Harris, both midwesterners; S. H. Emery, Jr., of Quincy, leader of the Plato Club there, became its permanent director. A good many of those who attended the lectures were from the Midwest. In a sense, it can fairly be said that the founding of this school was an occasion for the Midwest to implant philosophy once again in the soil of the East. Newspapers commonly spoke of this as a midwestern triumph of culture.

Jones played a very important part in the fame which the Concord School achieved. A few quotations will quickly establish this. A writer in the *Detroit Free Press* said:

> The strong cards of the party are Alcott, Harris, and Jones. . . . If you have never heard of Jones you had better say you never heard of Plato and confess yourself an ignoramous at once.[14]

Something of the light in which Jones's lectures were viewed is indicated by this statement appearing in *The Boston Evening Traveller* along with a report of Jones's lecture on Platonic psychology:

> Dr. Jones's lectures are a very pronounced feature of The Concord School. They are felt to be a wonderful insight into Platonian philosophy, an exposition of Mysticism, that is clear, vital and forcible. They impress people. They inspire almost infinite suggestion and speculation, and a "Plato Morning," as we had today, naturally attracts a very critical and interested audience. Dr. Jones has a certain *clientele* who hang upon his words, so to speak, and who regard his thought as a very remarkable system of philosophy. This fact is also true of the west. The writer has personally known of people going to the town where Dr. Jones lives—Jacksonville, Ill.—and staying days simply to hear Dr. Jones talk. The Doctor

[14] Included in scrapbook of "Aunt Biddie," pen name for Mrs. Hiram K. Jones, who kept a record of her visits to the Concord School. This is to be found in the Illinois College Library.

is a tall, straight, alert man, with the silvered hair of the Sage, the cool, deep blue eyes of the Thinker, the fire and vigor of Youth. A straightforward, courteous gentleman, ready with his words, not afraid to speak the truth as it is in Emerson, a man who *practicalizes* his Mysticism, if I may so express it; he does not talk vapors, but he talks good sense.[15]

It is reported that one enthusiastic student of Jones said that under his influence even the elms seemed straighter and taller than they did any place else. Yet Jones was neither a literary genius nor a news reporter of philosophical truth. Condensation was no virtue of his, and many of his listeners would find five hours of his lectures trying on the mind and hence stay for only an hour or so, then go out for air and return for more. Lilian Whiting records such attitudes in a very enlightening manner, indicating something of the quality of Jones's fare as well:

> Sometimes, indeed, an irreverent couple would leave these Platonic expositions of the "physical sensorium" and "spiritual sensoria" and be off for an hour's row on the Concord River,—whose current is so sluggish that Hawthorne said he swam across it every day all one summer without being able to determine which way it flowed,—but as the lectures of Dr. Jones were, like the quality of Japanese pictures, such as to permit approach from any angle of vision,—upside down, or divided anywhere; any part, despite mathematical laws, being equal to the whole,—they lent themselves to the charming possibilities of being taken in sections. Indeed the irreverent and unplatonic mind was not unfrequently found to insist that a part was better than the whole of the good doctor's discourses, whose length suggested the infinite leisure of the Eternities rather than the limits of an ephemeral summer's day.[16]

The first four years of the Concord School witnessed a friendly, but sometimes frictional, debate between

[15] From "Aunt Biddie's" scrapbook.

[16] Lilian Whiting, *Boston Days: The City of Beautiful Ideals, Concord and its Famous Authors* (Boston, 1902), 175.

Hegel and Plato, as represented by Harris and Jones. After the fourth session Jones never appeared again at the school. Part of the explanation for this lies in the fact that Hegel seemed to be getting the better of Plato, at least so Denton J. Snider tells us, although this might be somewhat discounted since Snider was largely Hegelian in his own thinking. The fact also that Harris and Jones retained their friendship long after this casts discredit on its complete validity. It is much more likely that the debate over where the school should subsequently be held is what alienated Jones. The people from the Midwest agreed that it should be transferred to the Midwest since such a large portion of its visitors were from that section of the country. How much of a lead in this movement came from Jones is hard to say but he was certainly in favor of the transfer and was obviously very much disappointed when it was decided to continue the school where it had been started. The fact that Jones left the school on this occasion and started the American Akademe in Jacksonville the following year is adequate evidence of where his feelings lay. When Jones left the school, it suffered greatly, for it meant the loss of the major figure in the Platonic element in the school, leaving the field open for the eclipse of Platonism by Hegelianism. This had further effect in that the lack of adequate competition for the Hegelian group lessened the intensity of philosophical discussion and it soon gave way to a literary interest.

All of these events had their natural effect upon what followed. As the Plato Club and other such organizations were instrumental in the founding of the Concord School, so the break away from the Concord School was a powerful incentive for the formation of the Ameri-

can Akademe the following year in Jacksonville. The Akademe was not a summer school, for the heat of central Illinois during that time of the year would have been no aid in attracting people to Jacksonville. It was a wise move, therefore, to make the Akademe a permanent winter organization with monthly meetings instead. The plan of meeting intermittently although regularly had another value, namely, not wearing the members out as the Concord School had a tendency to do. Otherwise the Akademe had a similar motive. To be sure, the nucleus was the Plato Club which was still operating and was to do so until both organizations ceased to function; nevertheless the organization was not solely a Jacksonville one even from the start and its Platonism, while decidedly influential, was not oppressive.

The American Akademe came into being as a result of a meeting held in Jacksonville on July 2, 1883. Jones presided, and Alexander Wilder of Newark, New Jersey, whom Jones had met at Concord two years earlier and with whom he had much in common, acted as secretary. According to the records of the organization, "The presiding officer explained the purpose of the meeting to be that of taking the necessary preliminary steps for forming a permanent organization of individuals desiring to pursue and promote Philosophic enquiry."[17] There were thirty-three people present of which number twenty-one were from Jacksonville and the remainder from all over the country, from Galveston to New York City. The list included in addition to Jones and Wilder, Louise M. Fuller (who later edited the *Journal of the American Akademe*), Thomas M. Johnson,

[17] *Records of the American Akademe*, 3. These are in the Illinois College Library.

editor of *The Platonist*, and Harris and Block, both of whom appeared at Concord to lecture later in the summer. The fact that Harris appeared for this meeting and later read papers before the group or had them read for him is a testimony to his interest in seeing the philosophic urge continued in the West even though his own residence had been changed to Concord.

At this first meeting a committee was appointed to prepare a plan of organization. It reported on September 25 of the same year and a constitution was read and approved. Eighteen new members were elected including the publishers, A. W. Wagnalls and Abner Doubleday of New York, and others from Colorado to the Dutch West Indies. Officers elected for a period of three years at this meeting were Dr. Hiram K. Jones, president; Dr. Alexander Wilder, vice president; Mrs. Julia P. Stevens, recording secretary; and Thomas M. Johnson, Lewis J. Block and Mrs. B. Paxson Drury, corresponding secretaries. The reason for the corresponding secretaries was that the organization had a policy of encouraging comments, letters and contributions. How extensive this particular task became is not easy to determine but the fact that minutes of meetings constantly carried references to the comments sent in by members and to the relatively few which could be actually read at any one meeting would seem to indicate a rather extensive mail department.

The purpose of the organization as defined in the constitution was "to promote the knowledge of Philosophic Truth, and to co-operate in the dissemination of such knowledge, with a view to the elevation of the mind from the sphere of the sensuous life into that of virtue and justice, and into communion with the diviner

ideas and nature." The organization was not sectarian, yet there was a bond of unity in the Platonic interest which most of them shared and which Jones was so instrumental in furthering. An oft-repeated statement of many of the group was that the Akademe was "a School rather than a sect in philosophy, with personal improvement and the intellection of Truth as the ulterior purpose," and while in general this was true, nevertheless no one doubted the diffusive effect of the Platonic background of the organization and most of its members. When the atmosphere wasn't specifically Platonic it was at least anti-materialistic. These people were well aware of the growing influence of the scientific mind in the nineteenth century as it expressed itself in physical and biological studies. They were equally aware of the growing importance of economics in a civilization that was becoming more and more industrial. They were not so much opposed to this rising "brave new world" as they were afraid that in it some of the cherished values of the past might be lost sight of and it was those values for which they wished to find adequate defense. Thomas M. Johnson gave a fair estimate of the framework in which the Akademe must be viewed when he said,

> Already there is manifest among individuals of various shades of opinion in the thinking world, something like a reacting impulse against the materialism of the age, to arrest its progress before it shall totally benumb the moral sense of mankind. The modest little assemblages of the late years, such as the School of Philosophy at Concord, the School of Christian Philosophy at Greenwood Lake, and other places, and the various organizations of other forms, but all seeking to direct attention to a higher and more practical spirituality, are so many witnesses. The American Akademe, latest of them all with a Plato Club for its nucleus, and a goodly number, steadily increasing, of earnest, clear-seeking men and women for

its membership, also voices the same conclusion.

With many criticisms of its heretical orthodoxy, and its immaterial view of evolution, the Akademe holds on its way representing many schools of thought and various beliefs, yet true to the discipline of co-operative effort in speculative research.[18]

More must be said about the "heretical orthodoxy" of which Johnson spoke, but momentarily let us return to more general considerations about the organization and the members who composed it. Although the constitution was approved in September and a meeting was held in October to take in another large group of applicants for membership, it was not until December, 1883 that the first complete program was presented. At this meeting it was decided that the third Tuesday of each month would be the permanent date for meetings, and it was planned that ten should be held each year, running from September to June. These early meetings were held in Dr. Jones's study but it soon became apparent that more commodious quarters would have to be found. The result was that Jones turned over a large upstairs room in his home and this came to be known as Akademe Hall. It was bare except for linoleum on the floor and chairs around the walls, simplicity made real as if to indicate an intention to provide nothing which would distract from thought, the central object of their common quest.

It was agreed that at each meeting a paper was to be read by some member after which discussion of its merits would follow. The records of these discussions, at least such as have been preserved, indicate that while gentility was always the order of the day, frankness and candor were not lacking either. Membership rapidly

[18] *The Platonist*, 2 (1884): 1.

increased until by May, 1884 there were 180 members. When the last meeting was held in 1892 there had been 433 members enrolled, although probably no more than 200 were members at any one time. There is no way of checking this since the roll was cumulative and resignations were not recorded. From the standpoint of the number enrolled, it can certainly be said that the Akademe exceeded the St. Louis Movement in influence and it compared very favorably with the Concord School which never had that number enrolled in any one year. From the standpoint of its permanent influence, at least in the field of philosophy, however, it could hardly have vied with the St. Louis Movement, particularly when *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy* is taken into account. It probably exceeded in this regard the Concord School which came more and more to take on the character of a short summer chautauqua whose audience was sporadic and often motivated by other than purely intellectual interests.

As far as attendance was concerned, during the first few years the average was somewhere around fifty, but by 1890 it had begun to fall and during the last few months there was an average of thirty. Part of the gap between membership and attendance is to be explained by the fact that around one-third of the membership was from outside Jacksonville, many of these never having attended a meeting at all. Members were enrolled from all over the world. Hull, England; Sydney, Australia; Paris, France; and Ozuluama, Mexico are but four of the cities from which members were enrolled from abroad and as far as the United States is concerned they came from coast to coast. It was no idle remark of Jones when he was quoted as saying in 1884 that "This

is not a *local* but a continental Association; that its aim is, to find out persons of kindred thought and appreciation; that its membership extends from Maine to California, and from Canada to the West Indies, and that we shall continue to maintain its continental character."[19] Still, of course, the majority of the members were Jacksonville residents, giving the organization a natural nucleus for solidarity and permanence.

Whereas the Plato Club had a preponderance of feminine members, the American Akademe had a more equal distribution of the sexes. It also drew its members from a more inclusive circle. There was an unusually large number of physicians including H. K. Jones, C. G. Jones, T. J. Pitner, J. R. Sutherland, David Prince, G. V. Black and A. H. Kellogg, all of Jacksonville, as well as Alexander Wilder of Newark, George Winterburn of New York (editor of the *American Homeopathist*), Samuel Willard of Chicago (who had given up medicine for teaching history), and C. A. Lindorme of Fort Reed, Florida. The local institutions of higher learning were well represented with President E. A. Tanner and Professors Harvey W. Milligan, J. B. Turner, E. F. Bullard and J. William Pattison from Illinois College and Presidents William F. Short and Joseph R. Harker of Illinois Woman's College (now MacMurray College). College professors from Colorado, Toronto, Albion, Bethany and Buchtel (now University of Akron) were also enrolled. There was a moderate sized group of ministers, among whom were C. F. Bradley of Quincy, a Mr. Eby of Peoria, William M. Campbell of Carrollton, A. B. Morey, W. N. McElroy, F. S. Hayden and J. T. McFarland of Jacksonville. Women who took a particularly

[19] *Records of the American Akademe*, 25.

prominent part in the organization were Mrs. Julia P. Stevens and Mrs. B. Paxson Drury, both corresponding secretaries, Sadie G. Hamilton and Emily Wing, secretaries, Louise M. Fuller, Mrs. Elizur Wolcott and Mrs. Helen Campbell. The St. Louis group was adequately represented by W. T. Harris, Denton J. Snider and Louis Soldan. Other influential members of particular interest were Thomas M. Johnson, whose *Platonist* and *Bibliotheca Platonica* were important in their own right, J. Barthelemy St. Hilaire of Paris, C. H. A. Bjerregard, head of the Astor Library in New York City, Lewis Block of Chicago, S. H. Emery, Jr., of Quincy, and Edward McClure of Concord. This incomplete list of members indicates quite clearly that the Akademe was far from a parochial institution, drawing as it did from such a wide public.

There are three men, in addition to Jones, whose connections with the organization deserve particular mention. The first of these is Alexander Wilder, who served as editor of the *Journal of the American Akademe* for its first four volumes. He was one of the original enthusiastic organizers of the Akademe and although his visits to Jacksonville were not regular he still exerted a wide influence on the group and he was a particularly close friend of Jones as was Block. These men were often engaged in long controversies over Platonic themes, so long in fact that they would often forget the ordinary pleasures of such mundane interests as food. Mrs. Jones would come in and say in her unobtrusive but pointed way: "Come, it is time for terrestrial refreshment" or "We must have some every-day ventilation in here."

Wilder read a number of papers before the Akademe on such subjects as "The Soul," "Life Eternal," "Phi-

losophy and Ethics of the Zoroasters [Zoroastrians]," "Ancient Symbolism," and "Creation and Evolution." These titles hardly indicate the range of his thought, for he was well up on the whole history of Platonism and had a store of knowledge of oriental thought as well, perhaps better demonstrated by his contributions to *The Platonist*. Lewis Block, earlier referred to in dealing with the Plato Club, was influential and a more regular attendant, but his written contributions were not so great. His paper on "Platonism, and its Relations to Modern Thought"[20] was important, and his paper on "The Poetry of Robert Browning" indicates his essentially poetic interest. He was a poet himself and in addition to contributing many poems for publication in the various journals in the Middle West he had several books of poetry published. His great contribution to the movement lay in the essentially Platonic tone of these literary works.

W. T. Harris deserves particular mention, not so much for his great influence upon the group as for the importance in thought and education which he had in his own right. He contributed several papers including those on "Plato's Dialectic and Doctrine of Ideas," "Aristotle's Doctrine of Reason," "Relation of Homer's Poetry to Plato's Philosophy" and "The Concrete and the Abstract in their Practical Relations to Life." The first and last of these indicate something of what Harris got out of Plato and also something of what he interpreted philosophy to be. In the former he emphasized the dialectical character of Plato's thought and the archetypal principles to which it led. The latter also indicates his conception of philosophy to be the

[20] Printed in *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, 18 (1884): 33-52.

orderly revelation of absolute truth through a dialectical procedure; he was apologetic for this paper, regretting that he had been unable to present a paper on "a truly philosophical subject." The paper was on the question of universal liberty and the duties which liberty imposes on people, "a truly philosophical subject" from any other standpoint than that of a convinced Hegelian.

When the American Akademe first started it was hoped that its proceedings might be published in *The Platonist* which had been established by Thomas M. Johnson in 1881 for the furtherance of the study of Platonic and Neo-Platonic sources. A number of the early papers were published in this journal, but it was suspended temporarily in the summer of 1884 because of lack of funds. This left the Akademe with no means of making its papers available to the non-resident members. The Jacksonville group thereupon considered the possibility of getting out its own journal, a plan which was finally consummated in March, 1885 with the decision to publish ten issues a year, each one covering the Akademe meeting for that month but also including miscellaneous contributions of its members. The first volume started, not with the March meeting of 1885 but with the October meeting of 1884 and the issues of this volume were quickly printed to make possible the start of a second volume in the fall of 1885. *The Platonist* was running again by that time but no attempt was made either to combine the two or to abandon the new journal which had been started on its way. This magazine had the name, *Journal of the American Akademe*, and Alexander Wilder was its first editor. From October, 1884 to July, 1888, issues came out regularly, but on

that occasion Jones was planning a trip abroad and it was decided to disband the organization and its journal during the course of the year. The Akademe resumed its activities again in the fall of 1889 but the *Journal* was not resumed until the fall of 1890. Two more volumes came out under the editorship of Louise Fuller, but the number of issues was decreased to eight. The Akademe and its journal were permanently disbanded in June, 1892.

Study of the papers and critical comments on the papers as recorded in the *Journal* gives a fair idea of the character of the American Akademe. As stated earlier, it was largely influenced by the Platonism of Jones and others. Jones, who read about one paper per year, always discoursed on Platonic subjects with such titles as "Man—Spirit, Soul, Body," although he chose others too, such as "Philosophy and its Place in the Higher Education" and "Physical Evolution and the World We Live In," which of course he approached from the standpoint of his Platonic bias. Papers were read on other philosophic themes with such titles as "The Aristotelian Philosophy and its Influence on Subsequent Thought," "The Nature and Origin of the Causal Judgment," "The Analysis and Differentiation of Energy as the Basis of all Philosophy and Religion," "The Finite and the Infinite—Time and Eternity," "Thought Movements in Relation to Scientific Investigation," and "The Intellectual Element in Matter." Others were closer to the field of religion than philosophy, as indicated by such topics as "Our Need of the Ideal," "Christ and Creeds," and "The Glory of God Revealed in Man," and by papers dealing with such subjects as Bahaism, Zoroastrianism and Swedenborg-

ianism. There was a Swedenborgian element in the group to some extent represented by Louise Fuller, although when charged with being a Swedenborgian she denied it. In the last year or two of the meetings there were papers on "The Philosophy of Health" and "Mind-Cure," indicating an element akin to Christian Science. Yet no one religious point of view captured the Akademe. There was an interest in most of the newer viewpoints without allegiance to any. This is perhaps what Johnson meant when he referred to the "heretical orthodoxy" of the Akademe.

On the whole the religious tendency of the Akademe was liberal for the time. This came out rather clearly when the Reverend C. F. Bradley of Quincy presented his paper on "The Growth of Religious Symbolism, or the Origin of Christian Rites and Dogmas" in 1891 in which he argued that the rites of Christianity were in existence before Christianity, that symbols of all kinds are representative of the universal rather than the particular or parochial, and that all religions are impermanent and inadequate manifestations of an eternal truth. One minister present opposed the thesis as destructive of the finality of Christianity but Jones summed up the general view as well as his own when he said:

> The theorem of the paper, that the Christian religion is not a new religion, is high ground, and the research worthy of the most earnest and able investigation. I have always been perplexed with the view that the adequate religious illumination was not achieved until eighteen hundred years ago; that the good Father just then got a new and better provision than the previous ages had accomplished. The truth is, that Christ is God with us, but in this fact there is no ground of inference that God never was with any other people.[21]

[21] *Journal of the American Akademe*, 5 (1891): 184-85.

Most of the members were quite immune to cults which sought simplified means for answering the essential problems of life. This is well illustrated by the reaction of the members who attended Thomas Davidson's Glenmore Summer School which was founded in 1889 and at which there was evidently an ample supply of cultic sympathizers as well as a goodly array of philosophic talent in the personalities of Harris, Davidson, John Dewey, Henry Gardiner and others.

> Several members of the Akademe spent part of their vacation at Glenmore and report good lectures, choice spirits, delightful conversation, superior wisdom and a sprinkling of enthusiasts of various cults that gave a spice of variety to the entertainment. Vegetarians luxuriated in native fruit and "garden sass." Christian Scientists worked miracles of self-healing and general persuasion, and the *Kneipers* had the sunrise all to themselves for the dewy simplicity of their nature worship. Like the man (outside his wife's reception) who "*didn't like to disturb the ladies at their devotions*," our members said and did nothing in particular, but enjoyed the generous bill of fare immensely.[22]

The emphasis throughout the history of the Akademe was on "high thought," meaning by that term thoughts having relationship to a realm of eternal forms or ideas as distinguished from thoughts associated with the commonplace and transitory. There was little question raised about the truth of such things as the existence of God and immortality. The idea of God was an essential part of the Platonic philosophy which permeated the atmosphere of the monthly gatherings, although God was called by a variety of names such as First Cause, Absolute Energy, Absolute Mind, Perfection, etc. Immortality was an equally accepted belief based largely on the necessary infinitude of a

[22] *Journal of the American Akademe*, 5 (1891): 252.

soul which was only temporarily associated with the body and whose essential nature linked it with the divine. On the membership card presented to all members was a butterfly which was a historic symbol for the soul; the motto was printed in Greek and read, translated, "The Soul; aye, the immortal." There was, however, much discussion on the subject of immortality, indicating that the members were well aware of the contemporaneous attack upon this belief and that they thought rational defense of it was necessary.

The subject of evolution came into the picture on numerous occasions and created considerable stir. The champion of evolution was Elizur Wolcott whose paper "The Theory of Evolution" was presented on May 20, 1884. Wolcott argued that evolution was the greatest idea which the nineteenth century had produced and held that it had grown out of a new empirical attitude. He advocated the thesis that "what is not scientifically known, is not *known*, however it may be believed."[23] He argued that there was an obvious development in external nature and that there was a parallel internal development of the mind, and stated that the basic idea of evolution was that all things come into being by a natural process which makes them the effects of that which precedes. Spencer and Fiske, he thought, were the best expression of this point of view, and he held that all scientists and some religionists had already accepted the theory. Science, he felt, had always won its battles with religion and would do so in this case. This necessitated shifting the basis of religion from theological concepts to moral ideas.

This paper was somewhat of a bombshell in an

[23] *The Platonist*, 2 (1884): 105.

organization whose members had accepted Plato's story of the creation of the universe and his interpretation of the nature of the soul. Jones was as mild as anyone in his criticism, attacking in the first place the empirical approach which Wolcott advocated and in the second place the finality with which Wolcott defended the theory. He suggested a possible compromise by saying that as a phenomenological law it might be true without violating the idea of the creation of the universe by God. The secretary seemed to express the majority point of view in writing: "It was decided, however, that the doctrine of evolution could in no wise be embraced, until certain gaps which are still yawning can be bridged over."[24]

Wolcott's paper was undoubtedly the incentive which led Jones to present a paper at the first meeting the following fall, on September 15, 1885, on the subject "Physical Evolution and the World We Live In," in which he further developed the suggestion made in his criticism of Wolcott's paper, arguing now that the criticism he had of scientific investigation was that it assumed the veracity of sense-impressions and ignored the problem of explaining how the sensory world came to be what it is. He held that matter is reducible to force and force predicable only of an entity which serves as a substrate from which all material phenomena are evolved, a substrate to be defined as pure Intelligence and omnipotent Will. The paper was not a denial of physical evolution but a criticism of the materialistic interpretation which had been placed upon it.

This paper was followed by those of others who attempted to find some way of accepting evolution with-

[24] *Records of the American Akademe*, 31.

out disturbing either Platonic or Christian ideas, and the method proposed by Jones seems to have been the one adopted. The Reverend A. B. Morey read a paper on February 15, 1887 entitled "Christianity and Evolution" in which he defended evolution but argued for a theistic interpretation of it over against what he called atheistic and agnostic interpretations. More important was Wilder's paper on "Creation and Evolution" presented on September 15, 1887. Wilder accepted evolution as descriptive of the development of material entities as they are polarized by energy, but argued that energy is dependent upon an energizing source which must be the Absolute. Emanation of all existences from this Absolute was prior to and causative of evolution. The only real change necessitated by evolution was to conceive the universe as created by a process which took aeons of time rather than by an act of immediate choice.

The naturalistic trend of the age, however, did make a dent in the Platonic armor of the Akademe and more so as time went on. While Wolcott fought the battle almost single-handed at first, others joined him as the meaning and implications of evolution became clear. Charles Caverno of the University of Colorado read a paper in February, 1892 on "The Intellectual Element in Matter," in which he took a vitalistic position, arguing that matter was possessed of intelligence, that matter and mind were inseparable and that the natural order was self-contained. He was of course attacked by some members of the Akademe for making no provision for the supernatural and for not attaching due importance to mind. Even in 1892, however, there was still a strong anti-materialistic sentiment as is evidenced by Wolcott's defense of Caverno. Wolcott said,

I will ask leave of the American Akademe upon the rehabilitation of matter inaugurated here by this paper. It has been the practice of the Akademe to depreciate matter—treat it as rubbish to be swept out. But you know the adage: "You may drive out nature with a pitchfork, but it will come back." Traduce, attempt to degrade or ignore matter as you may, here it is all the same, all the time your best friend, closer than a brother—warming, clothing, nourishing you three times every day, furnishing heart and brains with vital forces—lifting you up to claim kindred with the gods, even when you have just vilified it as "*brute* matter," "*dead* matter," etc. You have shown less respect for matter than the Brahmin does.[25]

From what has been said thus far, it will be clear that the Akademe and the Plato Club were not much interested in philosophical research for the sake of itself. The historical interest characteristic of the St. Louis Movement and of Thomas M. Johnson was not strong in Jacksonville. The great emphasis was upon creative thought, a type of creative thought which led to the solution of essentially human problems and gave those solutions metaphysical undergirding. These people were not amateur scholars; they were amateur philosophers with a stream of thought which they found congenial as a guide, but whose facets were so many as to provide a wide diversity of opinion within the framework of its universally accepted categories. To speak of the movement as an amateur one is not to discredit it, for at times it rose to heights of professional proficiency. It was an amateur movement in the sense that none of these people gave their complete time to philosophy and none of them wished to become so involved in the technical issues of philosophy as to disqualify themselves for participation in the solution of immediate and personal problems.

The last meeting of the Akademe was held on June

[25] *Journal of the American Akademe*, 6 (1892): 147.

21, 1892. It can be assumed that the Plato Club disbanded about the same time and for similar reasons although confirmation of this is lacking. Of the reasons for the cessation of these groups, two are immediate and several others are remote but nevertheless influential. Of the immediate reasons Mrs. Jones's death in 1891 was the most important; Jones never recovered his complete equilibrium after this event. The organization was continued for another year but Jones's own health was not of the best and this combined with his family tragedy made him feel that he could not assume the responsibility for continuance of the organizations along with his professional practice of medicine and his teaching of philosophy at Illinois College. There were other reasons which would have made continuance difficult. First and foremost was the growing strength of another type of philosophic attitude, previously referred to as the naturalistic. It was no mere coincidence that these two organizations, the *Journal of the American Akademe*, *The Bibliotheca Platica and the Journal of Speculative Philosophy* all passed out of the picture within a two-year period. Part of the explanation lies in the change of direction in the winds of doctrine, a somewhat intangible force which sways the collective mind of man in varying directions, dependent considerably upon the prevailing mood, the scientific concepts, the psychological need and the social circumstances of a given time. The naturalistic attitude, traceable to Aristotle finally, was given great impetus by the progress along all lines of scientific investigation in the nineteenth century. While not all-compelling, it had increasing influence by the last decade and was making the continuance of the anti-materialistic schools more

difficult. Then again, the temper of mind had shifted from interest in clubs with a peculiarly philosophic purpose to those in which psychology and literature were the headlines. Even the Akademe demonstrated this shift in its own program with papers on Browning, Browning's *Paracelsus*, Homer and the Attic drama all within the last eighteen months of its existence. And then last, but not by any means least, the business of living was increasingly occupying the time previously given to the art and culture of living. No one of these factors alone might have meant the demise of philosophic groups in the Midwest, but when combined they presented a power which was difficult to defy.

Due credit, however, must be given to the leaders of this significant development in American philosophy and culture. It did not change the direction of American thought, although it did re-express a dormant aspect of the American mind. Furthermore it served to provide a security of mind during a period when changes were rapidly redirecting the whole flow of human energy in American life. That this occurred in the Midwest, and there no place more definitely than in Jacksonville, was a tribute to the breadth and depth of what has so often been mistakenly regarded as a superficial culture. Hiram K. Jones and his philosophic colleagues and friends thus contributed significantly to the renown of the city and area they represented as well as to themselves as carriers of a great philosophic tradition.

# HISTORICAL NOTE

## TRAINING FOR WOMANHOOD, NINETEENTH CENTURY

Eighty-four years ago a child's white dress was embroidered, made, and entered at the Morgan County Fair in Jacksonville. For three years the Fair's blue ribbon was pinned on the delicate lawn with its "compass work" embroidery on sleeve-cap ruffles and around the ninety-six inch full skirt. Its double hemstitched and embroidered bandings at the dropped shoulder line and tiny waist, its hand tucking, seaming, and stroked gathers held no stitch that could be judged other than flawless; recompense enough for a maiden aunt whose first niece merited her best stitches.

For three years the child waited until she grew from babyhood to fit her dress! In these three years, also, "Hiawatha" came into popularity and the child's gentle smile won for her a pet name, "Minnie," from Minnehaha (Laughing Water). Minnie's dress was worn only on special occasions. The matching pantalettes could be worn with other best dresses of softest wool or quaint silk and once, fortunately, for a daguerreotype portrait. Children's fashions did not change in those days.

The great sitting room in this home sheltered a grandmother, aunts and cousins who shared with Mother in making, mending and renewing garments and household linens by hand. Machine sewing was considered a shoddy substitute for sheet hems, pillow-case seams, and dressmaking. A woman's ability to do fine sewing was her hallmark of gentle heritage.

Grandmother was privileged to make the lace stitches for sheer collars and delicate wristbands, mitered corners for trimmings, quilled ruffles and meticulous tucks. She was entrusted with the choice silk pieces of wedding dresses and best frocks; cutting them into fluttering diamonds, delicately seaming them into twelve star blocks of seventy-two pieces each, all put together with the dove grey silk of Mother's voluminous wedding dress. Her skilled fingers, too, quilted arcs of miniature stitches across the heirloom coverlet.

Aunts, cousins, and Mother ruffled, corded and gathered muslins, wools, silks and prints; or crocheted, embroidered, knitted or tatted trimming edges through the long afternoon sewing hours. Though a Civil War raised calico prices to fifty cents a yard, tiny daughters had their bright ruffled sunbonnets, for no careful mother allowed a little girl to become tanned in outdoor play and no aunt who could make an embroidered dress spared her stitches to keep a made-over frock worthy of a needlewoman's skill.

In the summer, relatives at the big home visited at less commodious houses. Frocks were folded into trunks and the Beardstown stage was ordered to stop at the front gate. With a big clatter and a cloud of dust, the four horses swept up to the carriage block, roped trunks were hoisted to the stage top, and Grandmother, aunts and cousins fluttered down the walk in dovecote colors. Minnie saw the long hours of the winter's sewing now displayed in the parade of her elders. How she longed for the time when the household's sewing would include her handwork.

At last the coveted work basket, a bright little thimble, scissors and a threaded needle were given to her as the eldest daughter. Alas! her first stitches were to be on tea towels and school handkerchiefs. The lessons were not easy. Her beloved "finger hat" (thimble) would slip off, letting the needle's eye cut into a tired finger. Mother's "stint," set for her, grew wearisome with a definite number of inches to do before playtime. Uneven stitches must be pulled out and done correctly. "Overhanding "pillowcase seams brought tears and sometimes an effective tap on the small head from an impatient oldster's thimble-wise hand. Minnie thought she hated sewing but she hated worse the straggling ill-spaced stitches. She even threw her thimble down the well, but a wise mother, who accepted nothing less than perfection, provided a full box of small brass thimbles indicating that "stints" would continue.

In time, needle and thimble became manageable, then four colored triangles and four white muslin triangles were to be pieced into a block for her first quilt. Mistakes still had to be picked out, stitch by stitch, but the calico, print, and gingham triangles of many shades of brown, fewer of pink, blue and lavendar, were to recall a mother's, sister's and grandmother's dresses for more than eighty years. The patiently set stitches still hold true corners.

A silver thimble with an engraved initial replaced the little brass "finger-hat;" later a gold thimble guided her needle through her own silk quilt and her wedding linens.

Drawing lessons, china painting and perhaps music were to be crowded out by household duties among girls of that era, but until they laid their work baskets away the light rhythmic click of a needle against a thimble marked the tempo of their daydreams.

MRS. OTTO DORR

CHANDLERVILLE, ILL.

## WAR
## 1846

DEPARTURE OF THE TROOPS.—The regiment of volunteers under the command of Col. Baker, which has been for two weeks encamped in this city, left on Saturday last, for Alton. An immense concourse of citizens thronged the streets and public square to exchange adieus with the brave hearts who were so nobly responding to the call of their country. Kindred and friends embracing, sweethearts weeping, and lovers sad, rendered the scene at once solemn, impressive and romantic. The adieus over, order in the ranks restored, the regiment took up the line of march, while the shouts of the assembled spectators made the welkin ring with *paens* to the patriotism and to the success of the arms of the 4th Regiment of Illinois volunteers. They proceeded as far as Chatham (ten miles) the same day, where they encamped for the night, and before seven of the following morning, they had resumed their march, all in the finest spirits. It is expected that they will reach Alton to-day, and proceed thence to some military station in the neighborhood, or to the seat of war. May health, harmony and prosperity attend them, and if they should meet the enemy, may their deeds of valor cover themselves, and the State from which they hail, with imperishable glory.

*Illinois State Register*, July 3, 1846.

## 1846-1847

## FOURTH REGIMENT, ILLINOIS VOLUNTEERS
## COMPANY "F"

| NAME AND RANK | REMARKS |
|---|---|
| *Captain* | |
| Wright, Asa D. | |

| NAME AND RANK | REMARKS |
|---|---|
| *First Lieutenant* | |
| Scott, Robert C. | Elected 1st Lieut. July 8, 1846 from Sergt. |
| *Second Lieutenant* | |
| Johnson, Sheldon J. | Died May 13 of wounds received at Jalapa, April 18, 1847. |
| *Sergeants* | |
| Berry, William P. | |
| Day, Franceway | |
| Phillips, William C. | Received furlough from July 18 to Sept. 7, '46; has not since re-joined his company. |
| Potter, Robert | Died at sea, Aug. 5, 1846. |
| Rourke, Cornelius | Left in hosp. at Jalapa; wounded April 18, '47. |
| Short, David B. | Died at Camargo, Nov. 27, 1846. |
| Walker, James P. | |
| *Corporals* | |
| Altig, C. B. | |
| Greer, Napoleon B. | Appointed Corporal from private, Feb. 10, 1847. |
| Hadwick, Michael | Died at Matamoros, Jan. —, 1847. |
| Jones, Robert N. | |
| Watkins, Thomas | |
| *Musician* | |
| Gum, Robert C. | Died at Camargo, Oct. 15, 1846. |
| *Privates* | |
| Atcherson, Lewis C. | Died at Camargo, Oct. 31, 1846. |
| Bell, A. G. | Detailed in hosp. as nurse, Jalapa, Apr. 18, '47. |
| Bishop, Robert | On furlough April 6, 1847; time not known. |
| Bond, Bannister | |
| Bond, Green | |
| Bond, John | Discharged on Surg. certificate, Oct. 18, 1846. |
| Boss, James W. | Discharged on Surg. certificate, Aug. 29, 1846. |

| NAME AND RANK | REMARKS |
|---|---|
| Brown, Jesse | |
| Clark, David | Discharged on Surg. certificate, Aug. 29, 1846. |
| Clary, Daniel | |
| Clary, Robert C. | Discharged on Surg. certificate, Oct. 8, 1846. |
| Clary, Thomas | Discharged on Surg. certificate, Oct. 8, 1846. |
| Close, William | |
| Combs, William S. | Died at Camargo, Nov. 11, 1846. |
| Cox, Randolph | Discharged on Surg. certificate, Nov., 1846. |

[Thus to the end of the roster.]

*Record of the Services of Illinois Soldiers. . . in the Mexican War* (1882), 294-96, *passim*.

## 1861

We feel proud of Illinois for the prompt manner in which she is responding to the President's call for volunteers. The Governor's order is published to-day for the first time, but before it was written he had received a tender of ten companies of one hundred men each. . . . The brave men who have so promptly responded to the call of their country are deserving of the highest praise. Living, they will all be honored by all good men; dying, their memory will be cherished by a grateful Country. This is not the first time that Illinoisans have shown a willingness to uphold the National honor and the National flag on the field of battle. History bears record of their gallant deeds on the blood-stained fields of Mexico. No braver men ever trod the soil of that Republic, and we know that in the conflict with treason they will bear themselves like men and win unfading laurels. Illinois did not have a coward in Mexico. We do not believe there is one in her borders. If there is, he will not volunteer. We know that our brave citizens, now rallying beneath the glorious flag of our country, will render efficient service to the Government, gain glory for themselves and honor for their State. The volunteers will soon rendezvous in this city, where they will be mustered into service, after which they will leave us for such point as the Government may direct. We shall part with them in sorrow, but we will

watch their progress, full of confidence that if the chances of war bring them in conflict with the enemies of our country, Illinois will have no reason to blush for her citizen soldiery.

*Illinois State Journal*, April 17, 1861.

## 1864

SKIRMISH LINE
11 A. M.
[May 27, 1864]

Osterhaus & Smith (I think) have just had a big fight on our left. At 8½ I was ordered to take E, K, P, & G, deploy them, and relieve the 3r. Brig. skirmishers. Deployed & moved forward over half a mile through the very densest brush, couldn't see 6 ft. expecting every minute to find the 3r. Brig. skirmishers. But they had been drawed in, and we run right smack into the Rebs. before we saw them. 3 men of my Co. were wounded in an instant, & 3 of "K"s taken prisoners; but our boys made the Rebs. skedadle & all of them (the 4) got away. 21 Rebs came right up in rear of Capt. Smith & 4 of his men. Private Bowman shot one Reb. & Smith roared out to the rest to surrender which they did. They (the Rebs.) said they would not have been taken if the Georgia Brigade had not fallen back. I think that is doing pretty well. Four companies of our Regt. running a Brig. Firing is very heavy all around us.

12½ NOON

A chunk of Reb. shell just lit 15 ft. from me. Lively artillery firing right over my head.

4 P. M.

At 2¼ the Rebs. after firing a few shells, set up a yell, along our whole front. I knew a charge was coming. At 2½ another yell, much nearer. My men then commenced firing on them. But they came on, yelling pretty well but not as hearty as I have heard. They came jumping along through the bushes more than making the bullets rain among us. I think they could not have flew much thicker. My men more than turned them up to the sun, but they were too many for us and we had to fall back. I heard their officers halloo to

them: to yell & stand steady &c. and they were right among us before we left. Our line-of-battle checked them, and made them run like cusses. I lost

| | |
|---|---|
| A. Hufford | Killed |
| W. Gustine | Severely wounded |
| S. Williams | Died of wounds in two hours |
| E. Suydam | Severe wounds |
| S. Hudson | Severe wounds |
| H. Stearns | Slight wounds |
| J. H. Craig | Slight wounds |
| T. Cary | Slight wounds |
| W. Roberts | Slight wounds |
| W. Dunblozier | Prisoner |

Diary of William Pitt Kellogg, 103rd Ill. Inf. (MS, Ill. State Hist. Library).

## 1917

More than 7,000 persons packed every available part of the state arsenal at the "Civic Duty" meeting last night to take part in the biggest patriotic demonstration ever held in Springfield. Every seat on the main floor and in the balcony was taken, and hundreds were standing in the rear of the seats.

Raising their voices in patriotic songs and in applause of the patriotic speeches made, the vast throng demonstrated that the capital city of Illinois will be united in doing its duty toward soldiers who will soon be mobilized here and the greater duty owed the nation of serving under the nation's flag. . . .

When the members of the Grand Army of the Republic marched into the arsenal to the clash of their drums and the shrill notes of the fifes, every person in the great audience rose and greeted the grizzled veterans with cheer after cheer. It was not until the old soldiers had finally taken their seats in the section reserved for them that the tumult died down. . . .

After the benediction by Rev. Euclid B. Rodgers, City Superintendent of Schools Hugh S. Magill, jr., who was chairman of the meeting, in a short address told of the purpose and gave the key-

note of the meeting. Declaring that the presence of such a great audience expressed more eloquently than words the loyalty and patriotism of the people of Springfield, Mr. Magill said that the nation had been launched into the great world struggle in behalf of the rights of humanity.

"We enter this conflict with malice toward none and with charity toward all," he asserted. "We will be fighting for universal democracy and universal peace. We are fighting that our own liberties may be more secure and that the people of all the nations of the world, including the subjects of the German empire, may have more freedom. And, under God's providence, this work will not conclude until this old world will have reached the ideal toward which men have striven through all the centuries."

*Illinois State Register*, April 10, 1917.

## 1918

"We 'go over' at 6.30. Every man on his toes!" . . .

We went up and down our line of men, bade everyone good luck, and at 6.45 o'clock we started. We climbed the embankment which lined the narrow right of way, crossed into a road leading through the village, and as we passed a designated point—near which lay the body of a German—tossed our blanket rolls into a pile. I had one especially heavy cover which I had brought from home. I feared I would never see it again—but I did. We made our way through the main street of the devastated little town, across it to a standard-gauge railroad, which had fared badly from shells and bombs.

Our platoon was picked to head the procession as we moved along two abreast. Our lieutenant, "Morrey" Wall and I blazed the trail. We crossed the second railroad, and there, fifty yards ahead of us, was the Aire, a stream seventy-five to one-hundred feet in width. We circled into an open area to the left of what used to be the standard-gauge railroad station, looking for a suitable crossing of the river. We could see dugouts and huts of the Germans across the little valley and on the not far distant hillside. Our own machine guns, located at vantage points back in the village and up to our right, began to fire an overhead barrage into the thickets and the hill be-

yond us. We thought we were making splendid headway, and Captain Warren yelled encouragement to the long column.

In a twinkling, the scene changed. Machine guns along the river, closer to us than a hundred yards, opened fire. We thought for a moment that it was all a mistake; that our own guns were guessing badly as to range. Several of our men cried out and fell. Confusion added to our troubles. Captain Warren, when he saw what was happening, called to the company to double time to the railroad and fall back behind the embankment. A dozen or more of our men by then were writhing on the ground. The whole column broke into a run. Wall, Corporal Pegrum and two or three others whom I don't now remember, got with me as far as a large pile of bridge timbers, fifty feet or so outside the railroad embankment, when bullets came so thick and fast that we dropped behind the timber barricade.

Three German machine gun nests had seen us coming and were waiting for us. Captain Warren's information had been that the nearest enemy was a kilometer away. No one blamed him for what happened. It was an hour or more before we, who had taken refuge back of the timber-pile, chanced the run of fifty feet to the railroad —and safety. Machine gun bullets, one-pounders and shells had played merry havoc with our protecting lumber pile before we got back to the company.

It came with such suddenness and tragedy that we were stunned. One of the very first lads to fall that Wednesday morning was my old bunkie, Ervin—a lad who didn't have a selfish fibre in his body. Martin Wald, another lad who later proved himself a hero, told me about "Erv," as he called him. I had waved a "good luck" to Ervin just as we crossed the track and started toward the river. Wald was nearby when the boy received the mortal wound. Fire had no more than opened when Ervin caught his stomach, crying, "Oh God, I'm shot." He sank to the ground. Wald, who dropped low, crawled to him and called. Ervin seemed to lose consciousness. Then he rallied. "I'm sleepy," he told Wald. Presently, he murmured, "I'm cold; cover – – –," and thus he died.

Four of our men died that morning, on the field, and several others were wounded.

Earl B. Searcy, *Looking Back*, 82-84.

# NEWS AND COMMENT

Henry Horner, Governor of Illinois since 1933, died in Winnetka, Illinois on October 6 at the age of sixty-one. A military funeral was held on October 8 at the 122nd Field Artillery Armory in Chicago, followed by burial in Mount Mayriv Cemetery.

Governor Horner was a man of great ability and tireless energy. When he assumed office in 1933 he had already established a fine reputation through his efficient management of the cases he handled as Judge of the Cook County Probate Court for the preceding eighteen years. Soon after his inauguration, it became evident that the state government was in capable hands. The relief problem had become acute, but Governor Horner soon effected passage of a two per cent sales tax, later followed by bond issues, which provided funds for those in need. Various other problems, often seemingly incapable of satisfactory solution, were tackled by the Governor with insight and vigor. When he again ran for office in the fall of 1936, he was re-elected by a plurality of 300,000 votes. Despite his illness since the fall of 1938 he often persisted in working on state affairs when doctors' orders had forbidden it. On February 9, 1940, he announced that he would not be a candidate for re-election.

Governor Horner was born in Chicago on November 30, 1878. He was the son of Solomon A. Levy and Dilah Horner Levy. When his father and mother separated in 1882 his mother resumed her maiden name and changed her child's name to Horner also. He attended Chicago public schools, Chicago Manual Training School, the University of Chicago, and the Chicago-Kent College of Law. He received his LLB degree from the latter school in 1898 and began law practice in Chicago the same year. He was successively a member of the legal firms of Whitney & Horner and Whitman & Horner. In 1914 he became Probate Judge in Cook County and held that position until he became Governor of Illinois.

Governor Horner never married. Surviving relatives include: two brothers, Sidney Horner and James Levy of Chicago, and four cousins, Mrs. Maude Rosenbaum and Horace Horner, New York

City, Mrs. Hazel Mannheimer, Buffalo, New York, and Mrs. Irene Snellenberg, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

In the spring of 1940 Governor Horner presented his entire Lincoln library to the Illinois State Historical Library for the use of "any and all who may come to study Lincoln." He had been building this collection for some forty years and it was generally recognized as the finest and largest private collection of Lincolniana in existence. Known as the Henry Horner Lincoln Collection, it will be preserved in a separate section of the Historical Library. Henry Horner will long be remembered not only for his efficient administration of public office but also for his scholarly zeal in assembling this great collection and for his generosity in making it available to the general public.

Three years ago Professor Bessie Pierce of the University of Chicago brought out the first volume of a four-volume history of Chicago. On October 1, 1940, Volume II,[1] sub-titled "From Town to City," and covering the years 1848 to 1871, was published.

With the second volume, the scope, depth and importance of the work became clear. Commencing with the construction of Chicago's first railroad, and ending with the great fire of 1871, the 478 well filled pages cover every facet of life in an expanding city. Those facets, of course, are many—travel, trade and industry; banking and finance; the rise of labor; growing racial complexity; politics and government; war; religious, social and cultural life. Even so, the list is incomplete.

Miss Pierce's work is in the best academic tradition, and therefore fully documented. In the first volume, documentation and studied objectivity seemed to squeeze some of the juice of life from the narrative. But not in Volume Two. The author handles her abundant materials with such deft assurance that the story is often lively and never dull.

In spite of the fact that the growth of cities has been one of the major phenomena of American history in the past century and a half, American historical scholarship has paid it scant attention. The life of any third-rate politician was a valid subject for research;

[1] *A History of Chicago*, Vol. II. Knopf, $5.00.

the changing, shifting life of thousands was beneath the historian's dignity. There are many signs, however, that this attitude is changing. It is to be hoped that Professor Pierce's fine example of what can be done in "local" history will lead to other similar undertakings.

As different from *A History of Chicago* as a book can be and still relate to the same subject is *A Great-Grandmother Remembers*, by Addie Hibbard Gregory.[2] These quiet, nostalgic reminiscences of a long life fill the precise lines of Miss Pierce's history with warm, rich color. Here is life, serious but pleasant, in an upper class family of fifty years ago; here are Pullmans and Armours and Palmers and McVeaghs recalled as human beings rather than as gilded figures at the unapproachable top of a social hierarchy. In these pages the city of the past takes shape again—Michigan Avenue, bordered with handsome residences, its tree-shaded traffic of carriages; Prairie Avenue with its giant cottonwoods and great houses; Dearborn Park, where the Public Library now stands; the dream-like structures of the World's Fair.

This is not a pretentious book, but it is a successful one, for the author knows, and somehow conveys, what she herself calls "the fascination of this restless, ever-changing city."

The National Archives of the United States was established in 1934; in December, 1935, the first records were placed in the then incompleted building. By the end of 1940 some 320,000 linear feet of records had accumulated. To describe this vast mass of material and facilitate its use by officials and scholars is the purpose of the *Guide to the Material in The National Archives*, a 300-page book recently published by the Government Printing Office.[3]

Described or listed in the *Guide* are records of the United States Senate, all executive departments, four federal courts and forty-five independent agencies. For each governmental unit there is a brief

[2] A. Kroch, Chicago. $2.50.

[3] Washington, D. C. Paper, 40 cents; cloth, 70 cents. (Remittance must be made in advance).

introductory statement dealing with the history and functions of the unit. Following this statement come descriptions of record groups providing information on subject matter, chronological coverage, completeness and arrangement. Data on the finding mediums that expedite access to records and restrictions on use are included.

Special mention has been made of maps and charts, sound recordings, motion pictures and photographic materials.

Ninety-four years ago a party of California emigrants, organized around the Reed and Donner families, left Sangamon County, Illinois, for the land of gold. Blocked by snows in the mountains, they endured indescribable hardships, and those who survived lived only by eating the flesh of those who died. Ever since, the history of the Donner Party has epitomized the hardships of the overland trail.

About this tragic expedition a good-sized shelf of books and articles has been written. Most popular title has long been C. F. McGlashan, *History of the Donner Party*, published originally in 1880, and reprinted a dozen times since. Now comes a new edition, with a foreword, notes and bibliography by George H. Hinkle and Bliss McGlashan Hinkle.[4] The book may not be the best on the subject—this writer prefers George Stewart's *Ordeal by Hunger*—but in its present edition it deserves inclusion in every library which has a shelf on the westward movement.

*It Happened in Cairo*, by Anne West,[5] is an unpretentious little book which is best described in the author's own words:

"The girlhood diary of Maud Rittenhouse,[6] a Cairo (Ill.) belle of the 1880's, was published last fall. Almost overnight Cairo found itself in a literary spotlight. Readers by the dozens . . . and then by the hundreds . . . began to ask questions. 'Where is Maud now?' they wanted to know. 'Is the old Rittenhouse home still standing?'

[4] Stanford University Press. $3.00.
[5] Rockledge Company, 9 Grape Ave., Flushing, N. Y. $1.00.
[6] *Maud*, Richard Lee Strout, editor. Macmillan, 1939.

. . . 'What ever happened to all those interesting people with whom the affairs of her daily life were so intimately woven?'. . .

"This short book pretends to be only what it is: an attempt to answer some of those questions with facts, a supplementary fund of information concerning the post-Journal lives of some of Maud's friends and admirers—and of her Cairo itself."

This attempt, one is happy to state, succeeds admirably. Using newspaper sources freely, and filling in the gaps with explanations of her own which are not untouched with humor, the author of *It Happened in Cairo* rounds out the story of Maud and her family and friends. Recommended, heartily, to all readers of the Rittenhouse diary.

To all but a few citizens of Illinois today, the name John Mason Peck means nothing. Yet a good case could be made for the assertion that for the first forty years of Illinois statehood, he was the state's most influential citizen. An untiring Baptist missionary, he helped to bring the ameliorating influence of religion to many thousands; founder of Rock Spring Seminary and Shurtleff College, he was a notable instrument of educational advance; author of the best gazetteers and guide books of the period, he was the principal disseminator of information about Illinois, and hence a great factor in the rapid settlement of the state; while by his other writings, notably in the field of history, he proved that culture was not necessarily foreign to the frontier.

Some biographical material about Peck has long been in print, but no well rounded, documented study was available before the recent publication of *John Mason Peck, The Pioneer Missionary*, by Matthew Lawrence.[7] Though superior to anything else in the field, the book is too sketchy to do full justice to its subject. Still, it deserves a place on every Illinois bookshelf.

The Millikin National Bank, Decatur, recently celebrated its eightieth anniversary, and signalized the event by publishing an attractive volume by O. T. Banton entitled *80 Years of Banking, 1860-*

[7] Fortuny's. $1.00.

*1940*.[8] Here is recorded the story of one of the outstanding financial institutions of Illinois. Established as a private bank by James Millikin, a young but successful stockman and real estate dealer, the Millikin Bank grew steadily. In 1897 it was incorporated under the national banking laws as the Millikin National Bank. Since that date, its functions, like those of most banks, have been expanded to include savings accounts, safe deposits, personal loans, and, through an affiliate, fiduciary service. Today it ranks as one of the five largest financial institutions in the state outside of Chicago.

Appropriately, *80 Years of Banking* includes a separate section devoted to the life of James Millikin, Decatur's greatest benefactor. Although he aided the city in innumerable ways, and gave nearly two million dollars for charitable and civic purposes, it is likely that Mr. Millikin's name will be longest associated with the educational institution he founded—the James Millikin University. Established at a late date (1903) in comparison with American colleges generally, Millikin attracted students from the beginning, and has made a steady and enduring contribution to higher education in Illinois.

*80 Years of Banking* includes sketches of Orville B. Gorin, James Millikin's long-time associate, and others associated with the Millikin National Bank, as well as a short account of James Millikin University.

Readers of Illinois history who do not follow *Mid-America*, the quarterly historical review published by Loyola University's Institute of Jesuit History, miss many permanent contributions to the record of this state. The October, 1940 number, for example, contains an exceedingly valuable calendar of La Salle's travels, 1643-1683, by Jean Delanglez, which the author modestly characterizes as "a handy guide to the movements of LaSalle, which can be used as a check against the literature already published." Everyone who has occasion to find his way through the tangled history of seventeenth century Illinois will be grateful to Mr. Delanglez, and to the editor of *Mid-America*, the Reverend Jerome V. Jacobsen, for making this valuable chart readily accessible.

[8] Privately printed, Decatur, Ill.

*Mid-America*, incidentally, pays us a nice compliment in its October, 1940 issue. The editor writes: "Chicagoans, even those who do not wish to make history a hobby, are indeed passing up an opportunity for healthy, profitable, and enjoyable reading if they neglect the quarterly *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*. This State and its people have played an important role in national progress; its past has been told in books; phases of its development and the characters involved are constantly appearing in the *Journal*."

First publication of the Historical Records Survey in Illinois in the field of private manuscript inventories and calendars is a *Calendar of the Robert Weidensall Correspondence, 1861-1865*.[9] Robert Weidensall, a graduate of Pennsylvania College and the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, served in the Construction Corps of United States Military Railroads during the Civil War. After the war, he became vitally interested in the Y.M.C.A., and spent most of the remainder of his life in its service.

This publication is a rather full calendar of seventy-one Civil War letters, principally of Robert Weidensall and two brothers in the Union army. The entire Weidensall collection consists of 5,000 letters and a forty-two volume diary. The collection is in the George Williams College, Chicago.

The Historical Records Survey, Des Moines, Iowa, has recently published the Civil War diary of E. P. Burton, Surgeon, 7th Illinois Veteran Infantry. Surgeon Burton served with this regiment, the first Illinois regiment mustered into service during the war, from mid-February, 1864, until it was mustered out in June, 1865. His diary, kept in considerable detail, contains much information about a phase of army life—the medical service—not ordinarily covered in secondary works.

*The Greenview Scrap Book: A History of Greenview, Illinois, 1818 to 1940*,[10] by Mrs. Henry Bradley, is one of the most complete town

[9] Illinois Historical Records Survey Project, 433 E. Erie St., Chicago, Ill.
[10] The author, Greenview, Ill. $1.50.

histories which it has ever been the editor's good fortune to see. Beginning with the first settler in the neighborhood of what became Greenview, the story runs through March, 1940; and few citizens of the village, past or present, are missing from its pages. Subjects ordinarily omitted in books of the kind are fully treated here—the development of individual businesses, the organization of social clubs, farm and home bureaus, etc. Altogether, *The Greenview Scrap Book* will serve the historian, the genealogist and the merely curious for many years to come. (Alas, there is no index!)

A publication the value of which will be enhanced rather than diminished by time is the *Annals of Labor and Industry in Illinois*, compiled by the Illinois Writers' Project. Two volumes have so far appeared. Together, they cover the first six months of 1890.

The *Annals of Labor and Industry in Illinois* consists of a broad selection of newspaper excerpts on these subjects. News items, editorials and legal notices all appear; while strikes, boycotts, industrial organization and growth, conditions of labor—all phases, in fact, of the turbulent economic life of the time—are fully represented. The selections appear to have been well chosen, transcription seems to be accurate, the occasional summaries are unbiased, and the originals are adequately located.

The series promises to be a major contribution to the historiography of Illinois. Its only weakness is in the matter of coverage. Important downstate centers like Springfield, Decatur, Danville and Cairo are unrepresented except as events happening in them were reported in papers of other cities. Files of papers published in these and other Illinois cities are readily available, and should be utilized in this publication if it is to live up to its name.

Compilations similar to the *Annals of Labor and Industry in Illinois* are planned for sports, agriculture, education and the theater.

Nearly one hundred guests were entertained at the dinner meeting of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County on October 15. Mrs. Arthur Hemminger, Springfield, gave an illustrated lecture on the state parks of Illinois. Mrs. J. W. Emery presided at the meeting.

The Augustana Historical Society has arranged a series of lectures as a part of the Rock Island Centennial program. They are presented in the Lecture Room of the Denkmann Memorial Library at 8:00 P.M. and are open to the public. The schedule follows: "Early Rock Island County Families," S. P. Albrecht, Oct. 22; "Early Indian History of Rock Island County," J. H. Hauberg, Nov. 14; "History of the Rock Island Arsenal," I. O. Nothstein, Dec. 4; "Early Cultural Beginnings in Rock Island County," Conrad Bergendoff and J. H. Schantz, Feb. 19; "Early Agricultural Development of Rock Island County," speaker to be announced later, March 12; "Reverend John Brich, Early Presbyterian Minister," Charles W. Davis, April 2.

The twelfth annual Old Settlers' picnic sponsored by the Aurora Historical Society was held at Phillips Park in Aurora on August 28. The old settlers and their friends assembled at 10:00 o'clock for several hours of informal reminiscences. After the picnic lunch at noon, the meeting was called to order by Frank G. Plain, president of the Aurora Historical Society. Speeches were made by Harry B. Warner, Charles S. Sperry, S. D. Brown, and Charles P. Burton of Aurora, James Harrington Scott of Geneva, Arnold P. Benson of Batavia, and Robert Elliott of Oswego. The speeches were interspersed with musical numbers and the program closed with the awarding of prizes. Only registered guests who have lived in the vicinity since 1882 or before were eligible for awards.

Stephen R. Bennett has been appointed chairman of the Society's membership committee and an attempt is being made to secure many new members. The fee is $1.00 per person per year.

Last year Bloomington attracted nationwide attention with its $1,000,000 exhibit of paintings. Some of the enterprising citizens of that city have now proposed a plan for another show, this time one which will be permanently located in Bloomington. The Bloomington Camera Club, affiliated with the Bloomington Art Association, is sponsor of the plan to create a gallery of modern photographs. Alfred C. Brunk, president of the Camera Club, declares: "It would

bring into being a great mass of pictures of the city and its life which would be useful for many purposes, including publicity for the city. It would attract attention of modern picture magazines, its products could be reported in cards, stickers, etc. Last, but not least, Bloomington would have a permanent exhibit of a selected group of prints representative of 'Bloomington—1940' which could be deposited with the McLean County Historical Society or any other proper custodian for display and safekeeping."

"Bureau County Byways" was the subject of the paper read by A. E. Stetson of Neponset before the October meeting of the Bureau County Historical Society in Princeton. E. B. Cushing of Princeton was chairman of the program. This meeting marked the close of the Society's membership drive. Dues of $1.00 per year are used to help defray costs of keeping up the Museum which the Society maintains in the basement of the courthouse in Princeton. Articles recently acquired for the Museum were on display at this meeting.

The seventh annual reunion of the Lawndale-Crawford Historical Association (Chicago) on September 26 was called to order by the tolling of a seventy-five year old school bell. An exhibit of old photographs, newspapers, programs, etc., arranged by Miss Marie Stempen, was on display at the meeting.

Officers of the Lawndale-Crawford Historical Association are: Larned E. Meacham, president; Mrs. Mary Broadway, vice-president; Marie Stempen, secretary-historian; Peter Ritzma, Mrs. Nellie Hempenius and Helena Hampel, directors.

A series of interesting articles concerning early days in Ravenswood (Chicago) have been appearing in the *Mid-Week News*, a weekly publication. This practice is being followed by a number of historical societies throughout the state and has aroused much interest in the local history of the various communities.

According to the usual custom, the first fall meeting of the South Shore Historical Society (Chicago) was observed as "Homecoming night" and reminiscences of earlier days were a part of the evening's program. Mrs. Marie Voy Brewster, principal of the new South Shore High School, gave the main address. She reviewed the history of the first high school in Chicago.

The West Side Historical Society (Chicago) held its eleventh annual meeting on October 14. Dr. Theodore Bacmeister gave an illustrated talk on "Early Days in Chicago." Otto Eisenschiml presented awards to the winners of the 1940 essay contest among the schools. The Kelvyn Park High School Local History Club won a trophy for its illustrated essay on "Samuel Snowden Hayes—His Life and Interests." The Shepard Elementary School received a plaque for its essay on the "History of the Streets in our School District." The winning essays were included in the historical exhibit on display at this meeting.

On October 19, J. C. Miller conducted members of the Society on a tour of the nearby sites which were formerly occupied by Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa Indians. High school chapters of the Society were guests on this trip, which ended with a barbecue supper.

The West Side Society now has over four hundred members. Officers are: Pearl I. Field, founder and honorary life president; Frank L. Wood, president; J. C. Miller, first vice-president; Harlo Grant, second vice-president; Marguerite McBride, third vice-president; Henry W. Coan, fourth vice-president; T. H. Golightly, treasurer; Mrs. Gertrude I. Jenkins, secretary-historian. The board of directors includes: Otto Eisenschiml (chairman), Lois Bergh, John T. McEnery, Edward P. Brennan, Arthur A. Marquart, Charles W. Carter, Dennis J. Ryan, Signy Hoff, Anna Grace Sawyer, Albert F. Keeney, and Harry J. Stewart.

Another "Old Timers' " gathering was that sponsored by the Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago) on October 11. Mrs. E. J. Chladek was in charge of the meeting which included the fol-

lowing program: "Jackson Park Yacht Club," Willys T. Miller; "Woodlawn Park Lodge," Dr. Paul Williams; "Woodlawn Hospital," Rollo K. Packard; "Woodlawn Business Men's Association," Homer L. Davenport; and "Oakwoods Cemetery," Arthur Farwell. Mrs. William Rothman led the group in the singing of old-time songs.

The Des Plaines Historical Society continues to issue its *Quarterly*. The latest number (Vol. II, no. 2) contains the following principal articles: "Some Early Medical History of the Upper Des Plaines Valley," by the late Dr. C. A. Earle; "The Diary of Augustus H. Conant," edited by Victor Richter; and "Des Plaines, Eau Plaine, or Kickapoo," by Hermon Dunlap Smith.

The Edwards County Historical Society had a tent at the annual Edwards County Fair held in September. A large number of articles connected with the early history of the county were on display. Included were pictures of a number of old buildings in Albion which have now been torn down. Over fifteen hundred persons visited the exhibit during the three days of the Fair.

At the meeting of the Society on August 22 the officers of the past year were re-elected. They are: Dr. W. A. Wheeler, president; Fred Stroup, vice-president; Alice Bradshaw, recording secretary; Mrs. Carro Craig Long, corresponding secretary; and Harry J. Glover, treasurer.

The Evanston Historical Society is steadily adding to its historical exhibit. A very old picture of the Fountain Square is one of the chief acquisitions of the past summer. The high school students of the community make frequent use of the collection in the preparation of papers on historical subjects.

At the first fall meeting of the Society, Robert Kingery, general manager of the Chicago Regional Planning Association, was the guest speaker.

The history of Gallatin County from 1690 up to the present was portrayed in an elaborate pageant presented at the Gallatin County Fair on the evenings of September 17 and 18. Charles Drew was in charge of the narration and residents of Equality, Shawneetown, Omaha, Junction, Asbury and New Haven presented the different scenes.

The annual meeting of the Knox County Old Settlers' Association was held on August 15 at Knoxville. President G. E. Morgan, of Dahinda, called the meeting to order. Joseph Miles and John Brooks made short speeches, and music was furnished by William Finley, Dorothy Gottrick and Marian Etnire.

Miss Charlotte Campbell presented a proposal for the reorganization of the Knox County Historical Society and requested that fourth generation members of old settler families meet to consider the proposal. A telegram from Clint Clay Tilton, president of the Illinois State Historical Society, was read. Mr. Tilton, urging the revival of the Society, declared: "It is only through organization that much of the unwritten history and legends of Knox may be preserved for future generations."

A memorial stone was dedicated in Dallas City on July 24 to commemorate the address Abraham Lincoln made there on October 23, 1858. Dr. Harry E. Pratt, Springfield, was the principal speaker.

The replica of the log cabin home of Abraham Lincoln's father and mother near Charleston has recently been furnished with articles of the Lincoln period. Members of the Charleston and Mattoon chapters of the D. A. R. have been gathering the furniture over a period of several years.

A program of dedication and presentation to the State of Illinois was held on September 17. Dr. S. E. Thomas, Charleston, was the principal speaker. Mrs. Phillip Harmony, Mrs. Fred Cottingham, Mrs. George Harned, and Miss Emily Oblinger, all represent-

ing the D. A. R. committees in charge of the furnishings, made speeches of presentation. Jerome V. Ray and Arnold Kugler accepted the gifts for the State.

William Brigham, superintendent of schools in McLean County and former president of the McLean County Historical Society, was the speaker at the September meeting of the Macon County Historical Society. He discussed historical research as a hobby and mentioned some of the activities of the McLean County Historical Society.

Newly elected officers of the Macon County group were installed at this meeting. They are J. H. McCoy, president; Mrs. W. W. Doane, vice-president; Miss Mabel Richmond, secretary; and Miss Clara M. Baker, treasurer.

The Maywood Historical Society held its annual "Old Settlers'" meeting on September 27, with both old and new settlers in attendance. Citizens of Maywood and Proviso Township whose families have been residents of this community for many years are being urged to prepare family histories and other papers describing events in this vicinity. Several of these papers have already been published in the local newspapers. Mrs. Eda Westcott, Maywood, is receiving such contributions for the Society. An announcement of the organization reads: "Time passes quickly; we must record yesterday's and today's happenings today; tomorrow may be too late."

"An Evening of Baseball" was presented by the Morgan County Historical Society on September 26 at Jacksonville. Horace H. Bancroft reviewed the history of the game and presented highlights in local baseball history. Alfred Lamb, coach at Illinois College, outlined the baseball history of the college. Luther Black, house father at the State School for the Deaf, was interviewed concerning his career as pitcher with the New York Giants. A number of former players on teams of Jacksonville and other cities gave interesting reminiscences.

At the October meeting of the Society, figurines of twelve women who were prominent in Morgan County history were presented to the Society by members of Gamma Beta Sigma sorority. The figurines were made by Minna Schmidt of Chicago and are reproductions of some of those included in the collection in the Illinois State Historical Library. The twelve women are: Catherine Kendall Carson, Frances Brard Ellis, Elizabeth Smith Duncan, Emily Adams Bancroft, Rudolphia Kibbe Turner, Eliza Freitag Ayers, Caroline Wilder Baldwin, Catherine Geers Yates, Josephine Mason Milligan, Ellen Hardin Walworth, Sister Josephine and Mary Turner Carriel. Miss Jeanette Powell gave the principal address at this meeting, including in her talk a short biographical sketch of each of the Morgan County women represented in the collection. The figurines have been placed in the Morgan County Historical Society room in the Public Library in Jacksonville.

"Around the Square" is the caption for the series of articles on the early history of Jacksonville which have been published recently in the Sunday issues of the *Jacksonville Journal*. The articles, written by E. E. Crabtree, are accompanied by pictures of the person or place described in each case.

The Oak Park Historical Society held its first fall meeting on October 17. Speeches were made by James A. Howe, president of the village, C. A. Walls, commissioner of public works, and Ted Leth, comptroller. They discussed the problems of the village and the duties of public officers. Thomas Doane, newly elected president of the Society, was in charge of the meeting.

On July 28 a marker was unveiled in Oregon, Illinois, marking the location of the first public school in that town. The marker consists of a bronze plaque mounted on a stone step from the original school building. The school was started in 1839 and was known

as the Phelps school. Speakers at the dedicatory program included J. C. Seyster, Frank T. Rogers, Mrs. Frank D. Sheets, and Miss Ruby Nash.

The Peoria Historical Society has scheduled a series of fine programs for the winter of 1940-1941. At the meeting on October 21, E. C. Bessler spoke on "Courthouses of Peoria County," Zealy Holmes discussed "The Mt. Hawley Neighborhood in the Early Days," and H. L. Spooner talked on "Frenzied Finance of the Fifties."

This year's officers are: Miss Naomi Lagron, president; Harry L. Spooner and George M. Burns, vice-presidents; G. R. Barnett, secretary; Miss Emma E. Shriner, treasurer; Howard A. Hunter, G. B. Barnett, E. C. Bessler, Thomas H. Detweiller, Frank S. Burns, Emma E. Shriner and George E. Johnson, directors. Ernest E. East is property custodian.

The seventy-third annual picnic and reunion of the Peoria County Old Settlers and Historical Association was held on August 28. At a brief business meeting, members discussed the need for a county historical museum and voted for the appointment of a committee to consider the proposal. The program of the day included speeches by Robert E. Kavanaugh and Tom W. Endsley.

Abraham Lincoln's days at New Salem were re-enacted in a pageant at New Salem State Park on September 26, 27, and 28. In the historic setting of Kelso's "Holler," encircled by a log cabin village, the pageant was acted by a cast of more than one hundred and fifty persons. Edward Mitchell, Petersburg, played the part of Lincoln and Jane Bast, Petersburg, portrayed Ann Rutledge. The Old Salem Lincoln League, the State Department of Public Works and Buildings, and the Illinois W. P. A. co-operated in planning the spectacle.

The Rock Island County Historical Society held its fall meeting at the Archie Allen Camp near Port Byron on September 20. Dr. William J. Petersen, research assistant for the Iowa State Historical Society, gave an illustrated lecture on Upper Mississippi steamboat history. John H. Hauberg gave a brief report on the history of the Archie Allen Camp region.

The seventy-fourth annual meeting of the Rock Island County Pioneers' and Old Settlers' Association was held on October 3 in Moline. The Association was formed in 1866 to keep a record of the family histories of early settlers in the county. Present officers are: Stephen P. Albrecht of Moline, president; David C. Vanatta of Andalusia, first vice-president; Charles H. Quick of Cordova, second vice-president; E. J. McMurphy of Hillsdale, third vice-president; William M. Stewart of Rock Island, fourth vice-president; John H. Hauberg of Rock Island, chairman of the board; and Grace R. Sweeney of Rock Island, secretary.

The Southern Illinois Historical Society, formed a year ago, held its fall dinner meeting at Eldorado on October 17. A number of towns in the southern part of the state were represented. E. G. Lentz, dean of men at Southern Illinois Normal University, spoke on "Collecting the Evidence." Mr. Lentz is secretary and archivist of the Society. Miss Lois Lee Smith, Carbondale, read a paper on "Creal Springs Seminary, an Early Illinois Institution." Music was furnished by Mrs. Noah Morris, Mrs. Fred Wunderlich, Mrs. Alta Crawford, and Miss Ruth Hamilton.

The officers of the Southern Illinois Historical Society are awake to the value of frequent exhibitions of signs of life. This remark is called forth by the appearance of the second number of the Society's *Bulletin*, published in August, 1940. The editors, E. G. Lentz and R. L. Beyer, promise that the *Bulletin* will appear every three months in the future.

The *Illinois State Register* (Springfield) is directing its readers' attention to the history of the community by means of a series of photographs of people and events from the past. More than four hundred pictures of local persons and places have already been printed under the caption "Family Album."

Election of officers of the Stark County Historical Society was held on September 16 in Toulon. The following persons were elected: H. W. Walker, president; W. C. Auble, vice-president; Anna Lowman, secretary; Clara McKenzie, treasurer; John V. Colwell, Mrs. Louise Younger, and Dr. Frank Jones, trustees.

John Colwell, James M. Armstrong and H. W. Walker were appointed to the advisory committee and A. W. Shinn, Mrs. Louise Younger and W. C. Auble were named to the fact finding committee. The treasurer's report showed the Society to be in excellent condition.

The Winnetka Historical Society held its first fall meeting on November 7. Samuel Otis presented a paper on "Some High Spots Concerning the Northwestern Area Between 1690 and 1875." The Society invites all residents who are interested in the history of their community to become members of the organization.

The L. J. Freese farm near Eureka was again the scene of the annual picnic of the Woodford County Historical Society this fall. The event was held on August 22 and attracted a crowd of 100 people. Speeches were made by W. H. Foster, Ben C. Leiken. T. E. Wiggins, and E. U. Ridge. Music was furnished by L. J. Freese, Mrs. M. C. Welsh and Miss Stella Snyder.

The following officers were elected for the new year: L. J. Freese, president; Don Pioletti, vice-president; Mrs. Simon Snyder, secretary.

# CONTRIBUTORS

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